

# The Nation.

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## The Week.

THE prominent topics of speech and debate in Congress this week have been the Centennial Exhibition and the attempt to revive the franking privilege, but in neither matter has any conclusion been reached except that as regards the franking privilege the House, while indicating not obscurely that it means revival, has voted down a direct proposal to that effect. In the Senate, on the 25th of February, Messrs. Buckingham of Connecticut and Schurz of Missouri made some remarks about the appointment of the commission to enquire into the effects of the use of intoxicating liquor, Mr. Buckingham being in favor of appointing such a commission, and Mr. Schurz being opposed on the ground that for the Federal legislature to assume such a work would be to violate the spirit of the Constitution and to interfere with the reserved rights of the citizen. There is little prospect that the commission will get further than the stage of talk. On the same day there was debate on the financial question, the particular measure under discussion being the bill to redistribute the currency, but the speeches being somewhat general in their character, though in one instance specific to the point of personality and requiring the interposition of the chair: Mr. Morton having made the ingenious monetary argument that Mr. Schurz was not born in this country, Mr. Schurz replied with asperity, and by-and-by the language of both gentlemen was declared unparliamentary. Another speaker was Mr. Sherman, who said that if he could have the \$44,000,000 "reserve" retired he would do so, and that the least he would accept was that at all events there should be no more inflation.

One of the curious incidents of the debate, if debate it can be called, was Mr. Cameron's intimation of his belief that if a man lent money on mortgage on a piece of real estate, and the currency was subsequently inflated, the consequent rise in the price of the land would save the mortgagee from loss. This excited laughter in the galleries, and naturally enough; but it raises the question in many minds, How does Mr. Cameron come to be a rich man in his declining years? Usually, gentlemen holding this simple view of the nature of mortgages and currency are closely attended through life by other gentlemen, belonging to other schools of finance, who gradually strip them of all their superfluous cash, so that at Mr. Cameron's age they are apt to be dependent on the charity of relatives, instead of being millionaires, with seats in the Senate. The only plausible explanation of Mr. Cameron's affluence we have heard is that his property has been taken care of by his friends; but it must be admitted that, if so, it has been done with considerable delicacy, and even secrecy, for it has not prevented his earning a reputation for great shrewdness. We are inclined to suspect that he keeps one kind of political economy for his own use, and another for the public.

On Thursday, Friday, Monday, and Tuesday the Centennial was the subject of speeches, most of them adverse to giving the Centennial an international character. One of the reasons urged against it was that in 1876 we shall be in the midst of a Presidential campaign, and that the representatives of foreign governments will hear us abusing each other. That this is no idle fear will be generally allowed; though to what extent we should let it act as a deterrent it might be difficult to say. The foreign potentate plays a great part in these discussions. Mr. Sumner, for instance, says that if we make the exhibition international, we shall have over here a descendant of that Joseph the Second of Austria

who once said that "his business was to be a royalist." Another gentleman thought that New York should have been chosen as the place of the exhibition, because this city the foreigner can approach by way of a magnificent harbor, while as for Philadelphia and League Island their case is known. We heartily endorse this patriot. Mr. Scott and Mr. Cameron were eager in defence of the present plan, and the former was not daunted by Mr. Sumner's exposure of a letter sent by Cameron to Stokley when the latter was up for mayor of Philadelphia, and which in effect admitted that a Republican victory in that city would be useful as a means of getting money out of Congress. More than one senator denounced the underhand management of the enterprise so far as concerns its views upon the Treasury. Mr. Scott, however, assured his fellow-senators that the Government money would be invested in the Centennial "stock," and would therefore be a loan, not a gift. It seems as if this might have been the traditional "too much," but perhaps the money is to go; though we trust foolish steps may be retraced, and a good national celebration be yet secured. On Friday the famous "fruits, plants" made way for "fruit-plants," an amendatory bill having been introduced and at once passed. It stops all repayment of paid-up duties on the tropical fruits, and returns tropical fruit-plants to the free list. The Senate has been busy with executive sessions and the naval and military appropriation bills.

In the House, the main business yesterday week was the bill which proposes a return to the old practice of letting public documents be sent through the mails free of charge. A part of it contains what some have called a sop to the editors of country papers in the shape of a section authorizing the free carriage of papers within the county in which they are printed. The debate was long and warm, "the Grangers" being mentioned in ordinary conversational tones and not in a whisper. Mr. Cobb of Kansas asserted that they were "the movable force of twenty millions of freemen," but his speech bewraying him or his "record" being known, he was suddenly cut off and slain by Mr. Phelps of New Jersey, who showed that Mr. Cobb was so bitter an enemy to the capitalist that he had now for many years been "feeding at the public crib." What the movable force of twenty millions of freemen want of "public documents" was not explained; but it seemed to appear in the debate that for whatever purpose required they can be procured in all sections of the country by going around the corner and paying for them a small advance on the cost of waste-paper or cotton rags. A proposed amendment to the pending bill ordering the old law in force as regards franking was lost, only a very small minority daring to vote in its favor. Yet to suppose that the people of the country have the smallest objection to a Congressman's sending his correspondence free of cost is doubtless a delusion. The disgraceful abuses of the system were what alone gave any force to the outcry against a privilege to which in its essence nobody objected. Mr. Dawes's speech on the estimated expenditures and receipts has been met during the week by an elaborate reply from Mr. Ellis Roberts of this State. Mr. Roberts is a colleague of Mr. Dawes's on the Ways and Means Committee, and asserts that he speaks from the figures, and, as we understand him, from some figures not accessible to Mr. Dawes at the time when he made his speech. Mr. Roberts's assertions amount to this: Mr. Dawes underestimated our probable income for 1873-74 by a sum which will be between thirteen and twenty millions. He made his calculation from five to eight millions short in the Department of Customs, and from eight to twelve millions short in the Department of Internal Revenue.

Senator Schurz's second speech on the currency is the most interesting that has been made for a long while on such subjects. In the course of it he made a very effective reply to Senator Merrimon

from North Carolina, who says that more currency should be issued at once because the people of his State are impoverished—a reply which would serve well for any of the Western or Southern States. Mr. Schurz says it is very true that the people of North Carolina are impoverished: that banking capital is scarce, rates of interest high, and so on. But when we ask how they propose to get rich by an expansion of the currency, we are met by difficulties. Suppose we issue, Mr. Schurz says, one hundred or two hundred millions of legal-tenders, how will it work? People speak of it as if the Government were going at the same time to issue a proclamation requesting any North Carolinian farmer who has a mortgage on his farm and cannot pay it to come and get the money from the Treasury; any manufacturer who needs a hundred thousand dollars or so, to apply to Mr. Richardson; in short, as if an expansion of the currency were to be effected by the Government handing the legal-tenders to all deserving applicants from North Carolina, in proportion to their necessities. But, says Mr. Schurz,

"It will not work in this way. There are only two methods of setting an additional amount of currency afloat. One is by defraying the running expenses of the Government. That will not apply here, because we can raise revenue enough for that purpose. The other is by the purchase of bonds of the United States in the market. That will necessarily have to be resorted to. What, then, must the Treasury do? The Treasury goes to buy bonds where bonds are sold; that is to say, the Treasury goes to Wall Street. It carries this additional issue of currency there, and there it buys its bonds. What is the consequence? The additional amount of currency is thrown at once into the very hot-bed of speculation. What will be the first effect? As soon as speculation is revived, to float speculative enterprise such as concentrates there; and if you want to have a proof of the fact that currency so issued will stay East, that proof is furnished by the figures which I read to the Senate only a few minutes ago, showing that the banks in only three cities—New York, Boston, and Philadelphia—had absorbed the whole of the new issue of \$25,000,000, with the exception of less than two millions. Now, sir, how will North Carolina, how will any other Southern State, be benefited by an operation like this?

This is certainly a difficult question to answer.

The anti-inflation movement in Chicago seems to be of a good deal of importance. The petitions to Congress against further issues of money have been signed by almost all the large business houses in Chicago, almost all the banks, and a majority of the Board of Trade, and there has been besides this a meeting to denounce Logan's misrepresentations of the views of the business community.

Mr. W. A. Simmons was confirmed after all, to the infinite disgust of the Anti-Butler men, and to the disgust, not unmingled with some other feelings, of the outsiders who have been looking on. As for the friends of the Poor Boy, they are jubilant and can afford to deride their enemies. Butler, we see, sent them amid their rejoicings a characteristic telegram, urging them to ascribe praise not to the heaven above us, as he should have done, nor to himself, but to the poor man's and soldier's friend Ulysses S. Grant—a way of putting it that was very neat, considering the amount of kowtowing that has been done at the feet of General Grant by the Anti-Butler men during the last ten days; it reminds them also who it is that the party really is fighting when it supposes it is fighting only General Butler. This threat is not so efficacious in Massachusetts, however—outside of some of the Congressional circles—as it used to be. People feel as if in one sense they were done with Grant; and that in another sense they are nearly done with him too—that, at any rate, there is not to be so very much more of him, and that he will be allowed by-and-by to go the way of ex-Presidents. As for the other most prominent figure in the contest, Senator Boutwell, he has incurred, we are happy to say, the contempt of one side and the hatred and contempt of the other. Still, a man is in difficulties when he gets up in the Senate with his fingers itching to nominate a Poor Boy of the sort that he likes, and yet with his knees trembling in fear of the party that opposes the Boy, and who has no reminiscences of courage and honesty in such emergencies to fall back upon, and who, moreover, in his hour of terror, has to reply to such questions as this: "Did you not as Secretary appoint this same Boy, now declared so dubious a young gentleman, to a post of honor, responsibility, and profit in your De-

partment?" and who thereupon has to say "Yes; I did." But though plenty of things like these may be said in the honorable senator's defence, such charitable considerations are scoffed at by both sides.

Mr. Boutwell's real reason for favoring the nomination may be some such as is preferred in a letter which we have received from a Boston correspondent. Its account of Mr. Simmons better fits that theory of his life which represents him as rising before dawn to study law from 4 A.M. to 8 A.M., than that theory implicitly embodied in a reported remark of Mr. Zachariah Chandler's: it is said that the new collector, after receiving Mr. Chandler's congratulations, told him an accustomed story about its being only fifteen years this same winter since he (Simmons) had been a knife-cleaner in a hotel, whereupon Mr. Chandler thought that what with Mr. Simmons's knives and an article of table equipage often coupled with the name of Mr. Simmons's patron and next friend, the pair of them had "done pretty well" during the last few years. But the correspondent to whom we have referred says that Simmons, so far from being rather illiterate as we styled him, is literate: "His library is select, containing only the standard works in history, political economy, philosophy, poetry, and fiction." To these selected works "he turns with a glad heart from the cares of his position and the engagements of society to the much-studied pages of Prescott, Mill, Shakespeare, and Irving"—which is much better than packing caucuses in midsummer when half the voters of your enemy are off on vacation; or than organizing the liquor-dealers of the North End of Boston, who long to vote the Democratic ticket, into firm supporters of the Republican party, on peril of having the liquor-law enforced against them if they vote wrong and do not turn to and work like apostles. We will confess to our correspondent that we believe Simmons to be admirably "smart"; and that we have no doubt that he will give perfect satisfaction to the gentleman who got him his place. The eyes of the country are on him too.

The evidence with regard to the Sanborn contracts sent to the House by the Secretary of the Treasury is very extraordinary. In brief, it is this: The law under which the contract with Sanborn was made, the passage of which was secured by Butler and Sawyer, authorized the appointment of three men to "assist the proper officers of the Government in discovering and collecting" money withheld from it. After the passage of this act the contract with Sanborn was made, and on February 3, 1873, Boutwell, then Secretary of the Treasury, (it is said without the knowledge of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue), sent a letter to United States collectors, instructing them to assist Sanborn in his work; at the same time Mr. E. C. Banfield, occupying the responsible position of Solicitor of the Treasury, sent out another letter to George Bliss, jr., United States Attorney in this city, virtually instructing collectors to neglect a part of their official duty, by warning them off the taxes which Sanborn might indicate his intention to collect. The words used were: "It is proper that notice should be given to the collectors not to receive payment in cases embraced in Mr. Sanborn's contract, it being understood that his contract relates to claims which are not of record in any of the collectors' offices"; while on December 20, 1873, the same Banfield wrote another still stronger letter to William McMichael, United States Attorney at Philadelphia, in which he says distinctly enough: "I doubt the expediency of enforcing the payment of penalties for failure to pay legacy and succession taxes." Under these instructions, in a number of cases the United States officers absolutely stopped collecting penalties simply that the money might pass through Sanborn's hands. This is the only explanation which, in the light of this curiously worded circular of Banfield, can be put upon the matter. In one case, that of Mr. William Walter Phelps's succession tax, not yet due, he received a private request that he should estimate its amount himself and pay on that basis; he supposing that the request came in the regular way from the regular officers, though it came really from Sanborn, who was afraid of losing the money if he waited.



In fact, the whole thing looks very much like a conspiracy to defraud both the Treasury and the taxpayers, with the connivance of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Two measures are before the Legislature of this State which may be considered as confirmatory of the overthrow of the Ring, and therefore deserving the support of all good citizens. One is "an Act to secure to children the benefits of elementary education"—a scheme of compulsory education, in short, reinforced by a stringent truant law. Of this we shall only say, without reference to the details of the act, that we heartily approve it and that it ought to pass. We believe the principle will ultimately be adopted by every State, as it has already been by several; nowhere is the need of it more urgent than in New York. The other measure we had reference to is designed to take public instruction out of politics and to give it a more consistent and effective supervision, by erecting the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York into a sort of Board of Education, and by making the appointment of a State Superintendent devolve on it instead of on the Legislature as now. The present is an opportune time for this change (which also will bring New York into line with more advanced States), inasmuch as the term of the actual Superintendent is about expiring, and he has no chance of re-election, being a Democrat. The Board of Regents, as now composed, is, we believe, an able and unpartisan body, and the established mode of filling it practically places it out of reach of political intermeddling. Its duties and its powers heretofore have been vague and little more than nominal. As the adviser and controller of its agent, the Superintendent, it will have a capacity for usefulness far exceeding that which the existing dual system has, or in the nature of things can have.

Mr. T. W. Park defends his connection with the Emma Mine in a letter addressed to the *Burlington Free Press*. He bolsters it up with confirmatory letters from his counsel, Hon. L. P. Poland and Hon. E. J. Phelps, and from such doubtful witnesses as his former partners and associates, Gen. H. H. Baxter and Senator W. M. Stewart. We shall not go into the details of these ex-parte communications, because we think the public has had enough of them. Two or three columns in a newspaper are not sufficient to settle so great a scandal as that of the Emma Mine, and would not be even if the source from which they proceeded were more respectable than it is in the present instance; and we will add that Mr. Park knows very well that they are not sufficient. His excuse for enlightening the people of Vermont on the subject—viz., that "the transactions occurred thousands of miles away, and that their history is not easily accessible"—is a fatal objection to the mode which he has selected. On this point we agree entirely with the *Springfield Republican*, when it says:

"It will be well-nigh impossible for the public to get at a finally intelligent and satisfactory judgment in the premises, or for the distinguished American citizens who were concerned in the transaction to relieve themselves of the suspicion, if not the odium, that has grown upon them out of this history, without something more thorough and scientific in the way of investigation than partisan pamphlets or newspaper articles can furnish. It would be well if the complaining stockholders abroad and the defending accused at home could agree upon a reference of the facts in dispute to some body of mining and legal experts for examination and report."

The English papers are occupying themselves with discussing the result of the elections, and there seems to be a singular unanimity of opinion on the subject, considering how widely all parties differed a few weeks ago. The Conservatives are naturally well satisfied with the result, and the Liberal newspapers also say that provided there is to be a Conservative majority at all it is well that it should be a large one, that there may be stability and certainty in the administration of Government. The *Economist* adverts, on the other hand, to the fact that the Conservatives have been out of power so long that the material on which they must draw for administrative ability is not very good. Lord Derby the *Economist* considers the most skilled leader in the party, but is of opinion that his wisdom is too profound—that some defect must make its appearance in him before long, because it is not in nature that any man

can act as wisely as he is able to talk. The Government has proposed no new measures, and the general impression seems to be that an "unknown quantity" is the political result of Mr. Gladstone's sudden appeal to the country. The Liberals are split into a number of small factions, and even the Irish Home-Rule party, which during the first elections was supposed to hold the balance of power, is said to be disunited, and to have neither any definite plan for the introduction of Home Rule, nor to be quite sure of each other's loyalty to the principle of Home Rule. On the whole, perhaps the most important English news is the end of the Ashantee war and the capture of Coomassie, the capital of King Coffee Calcahi. The crisis of the Bengal famine, on the other hand, has apparently come, and a despatch to the India Office announces that a million of people are starving to death.

The new military law introduced into the German Parliament by the Government is an important measure. The bill proposes to raise the pay of the rank and file, so that an increase of expense of 1,855,000 thalers is looked for on this account. Again, the rise in the price of commodities will make the maintenance of the troops cost 9,000,000 more. The general increase of expenditure is estimated at 14,000,000 thalers for the coming year, and 15,000,000 or 16,000,000 thalers for 1876 and afterwards. The term of three years' service in the line is to be given up, and two years substituted, and the money saved in this way to be employed in training 40,000 additional recruits, to be annually withdrawn from civil life. These changes, it is estimated, will raise the army, when on a war footing, to about 1,800,000 men. Doubts have been expressed as to whether, with the increased expense entailed by these changes, Germany will be able to keep its administrative and educational service at its present high state of efficiency. It is not, however, from France (where the army to be formed is estimated at 2,500,000 men) that this criticism comes. The Ultramontane quarrel remains *in statu quo*. The priests of Archbishop Ledochowski's diocese intended, it is said, to celebrate his incarceration by silencing their organs and bells, and inserting prayers for his welfare in the ordinary services. In some cases this very quiet sort of rebellion was carried into effect; but it has now ceased everywhere, and throughout Posen there is no sign of any unusual excitement.

The French Government, or the *Septennat*, as it is now called, is doing its best to discover means by which it may retain the reins of government in the face of a rapidly decreasing power in the Assembly. There seems to be no doubt that it will make its attack soon on the suffrage, and it is certainly making it in a very intelligent way. One of the things known for a long time about the voters of Paris, as of many other large cities, has been that they embrace a large number of the criminal class. It is the business of the police to keep the record of every offender against the laws and municipal regulations. At the time of the Commune, these records, or *dossiers*, had accumulated to an immense number, the list of sentences amounting in all to 4,200,000. These the Communists, for good reason, wished to destroy, and they did so as far as possible. But the Prefecture has lately been engaged in the difficult task of gathering together the evidence and facts, and decisions of courts on these cases, and in fact reconstructing the old *dossiers*. Some crimes in France entail loss of civil rights, and there are others in which the tribunal has discretion to inflict this penalty in addition to others; and it is estimated that the reconstitution of the *dossiers* will disfranchise some 40,000 criminals. The importance of this to the Government can hardly be overestimated, as the sympathies of these 40,000 may safely be set down as generally opposed to any Government that may be in office. Whether the Radical ex-mayor of Lyons, Barodet, would have been elected over De Rémusat by a majority of 35,000 had these 40,000 been disfranchised, may be doubted. The electoral question is one of the principal topics of discussion; but until the Constitutional Committee of Thirty bring forward their bill it is impossible to form any opinion as to the general nature of the changes proposed.

"WHAT ARE THEY GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?"

THERE are several peculiar features connected with the confirmation of Simmons which make the case perhaps the best illustration we have had, since the close of the war, of the system of government under which we are living. As there seems some hope now that the people of Massachusetts are awakening to the real nature of the struggle before them, we must, at the risk of wearying our readers with a well-worn subject, beg their attention to one or two singular facts.

The Simmons case throws, in the first place, more light upon what goes by the name of the civil service than any of the appointments which have preceded it. By those who have been in the habit of defending the existing régime, it has always been maintained that, though the present system of appointing to subordinate positions might not be perfect, still there was at least a well-settled custom in the matter, which had grown up with the growth of the country, and might fairly be considered a natural product of republican government. According to this system, the appointments in each State were allotted in a certain definite manner among the senators and representatives from the State—appointments of a certain kind being in the hands of one, appointments of another kind being in the hands of the other. No doubt there was once some justice in this view. At the beginning of the war, this custom had established itself all over the country as an accepted fact. But at the end of the war, when the period of migratory and predatory politics began, the system soon showed signs of breaking down and becoming changed into a system much simpler and more dangerous. The old civil service, which was small and insignificant, had naturally enough fallen under the control of the local magnates, and the President, in appointing the men selected by the senators and representatives for the time being, did what was natural enough—for who else was there to appoint? But at the close of the war, the high degree of centralization caused by it in Washington put another face on the matter. With the new network of Federal offices extended over the country, each of them in the gift of the Republican party, and the Republican party itself managed at Washington, it began to seem a far simpler thing to get control of State governments by means of Washington intrigues, through obtaining control of what might be called the Federal State government, than (in the old-fashioned way) to attempt to gain influence at Washington through real popular strength at home.

The local State governments had been broken down and had lost their efficiency, through a series of legislative and constitutional changes which had made the tenure of office short and uncertain, the sense of official power slight and of official responsibility feeble. On the other hand, inside these governments the United States had established a government of its own, coextensive with them in territory, but differing from them in controlling the expenditure of vast sums of money, and in having an official tenure, though itself insecure, much more secure than that permitted to the State officials. The life of a State official was in general one or two years; the life of a United States supervisor, collector, Treasury agent, or postmaster was four years, often eight years, and sometimes even longer. It was pretty clear that in such a condition of affairs the stronger government would absorb the weaker; that the State government would become a mere appendage and auxiliary to the central Government. This was so obvious that a number of clever and unscrupulous politicians, like Butler, Conkling, Casey, Kellogg, and Cameron, very soon began to put the machinery in motion.

Up to the present time, however, it has always been asserted, as each new State has passed into the control of the "corruptionists," that there was something peculiar and strange in the circumstances, which prevented the "capture" from being an illustration of a general truth. Louisiana was captured by Kellogg, Casey, and their friend Grant, because it was a Southern State, full of negroes. Pennsylvania was captured by Cameron and his friend Grant, because

there was a "ring" there. New York was captured by Conkling and his friend Grant, because—well, because everybody knew New York was so foreign, so un-American, so Irish, so corrupt. As to Massachusetts, however, there can be no mistake. There is no theory of the government or of the condition of society in which this can be shown to be anything but a "raider's" open descent upon a State organization—with the people of the State in the main virtually hostile, but with the Federal Government, the Administration machinery, behind him—for the purpose of capturing and governing it himself. He makes no secret that his object is the governorship, and in Washington it is no secret that the governorship of a State is only the first step to the senatorship, and a senatorship is a convenient base of operations upon the Presidency. The idea of Butler as President of the United States may seem a ludicrous one to our readers; it is not so to Butler himself. What we wish to point out, however, is that the capture of the State organization is merely one of those regular moves in the game which is going on all around us. Heretofore we have been assured that there was no game going on; but if Massachusetts can be managed exactly in the way the negro State of Louisiana is managed, something must certainly be in the wind. Butler had no right to claim the disposal of the collectorship of Boston as part of the spoils on any theory. It was not one of the offices of his district; and the nomination was opposed by both the Massachusetts senators. He had really no more to do with it than with the collectorship of New York. More than this, he could not have carried the confirmation without the active support of the whole Federal Government, and this he actually managed to secure, even after an adverse report of the regular committee and an adverse vote in the Senate. There has been a great deal of talk about this open violation of the principles of the civil-service rules, but it is far more than this: the very use of the word civil-service in connection with it is ridiculous.

Grant's connection with the affair is also worth noticing. Grant has been pretending for the last six years that he meant to reform the civil service. We say pretending advisedly, for any one who after Simmons's confirmation believes in Grant's sincerity must have a fatuous disposition. Certainly, if all that his worst enemies have said were true, and he and Butler were at the bottom of a deep-laid plot to get control of the Government for another term, they could not have made their arrangements, so far as the civil service is concerned, better. By "adopting the principles of civil-service reform" and applying them as they have been applied, to fill the minor Federal offices with their own men, they have now got a well-disciplined force of many thousand hard-working men in possession of the offices all over the country, who are very much in the position of tenants-at-will, knowing that if they keep on good terms with their landlord they may retain their property, but if they do not no man can tell when or how violently they may be ejected. It is Grant who has arranged all this, and it is Grant who now goes quietly to work forcing Administration senators to vote for Simmons after he has been virtually rejected by the senators of the United States as well as of his own State as an unfit appointee.

Another noticeable feature of this case is the barefaced audacity of Butler throughout. He has made little or no pretence this time that his object was the "harmony" of the Great Party. In one of the interviews with him, he is reported as having openly said that he had heard quite enough about harmony; that what he wanted was not harmony but the confirmation of Simmons—"the poor boy, the soldier." What he has actually done in the case is this. He has in the first place, having no connection whatever with the diplomatic service, got a vacancy made for him in South America; having no connection political or social with Boston, he forced Collector Russell of Boston to resign; put up his own man, a notoriously unfit man, for the place; made Grant, who has undertaken the work of reformer, appoint him; got the President's assent to what he induced the confiding Massachusetts public to believe was a compromise, by the terms of which Simmons was to be rejected, provided the Massachusetts delegation (which has no longer, now that reform is going on, any right to control the office) could agree upon some other man;



persuaded Grant to keep the nomination before the Senate after it had been made perfectly plain that the whole body of those most deeply affected considered the nomination an insult, and had actually been in Washington for several days protesting; and, finally, got Grant to drive up the Administration senators, after Simmons had been rejected once, to confirm him in spite of all. This is bold work, much more bold than has been usual even with Butler before.

We commend these peculiar features of the Simmons case to the attention of the people of Massachusetts. We can assure them solemnly that the people of the rest of this country, who have been wondering at the strange proceedings of the last eight years in New England, are watching them with interest. There are those, doubtless, who are looking on from curiosity alone, a great many others from a malicious desire that a State of whose pure government and good private morals they have become tired of hearing should prove after all to be no better than any of the numerous other States which have managed lately to bring the general reputation of the people so much into discredit. But there are still many who would agree with the view which we are glad to find the *Boston Advertiser* taking as to the light in which the Simmons nomination should be regarded. The "substantial difference between the advocates and the opponents of this nomination," the *Advertiser* says, is "not a local difference, but the difference between right and wrong, between honesty and corruption. Simmons was opposed not because he was a friend of General Butler, but because he was a man whose character, purposes, and associations completely unfit him for the office to which he has been appointed; because he has sought it not with an ambition to discharge properly its responsible duties, but in order that he may use the power and patronage which are wielded by its possessor to secure his own advancement and that of his supporters; because, in short, he is, more than any equally insignificant person in the State, the representative of that school of politicians who regard offices not as trusts but as property, and who use the power with which they are entrusted not to carry out the wishes of their constituents, but to defeat them. The struggle arose over a local office, but it is only one battle in the general struggle which the friends of honesty and good government are called upon to engage in all over the country."

#### THE TICHBORNE CASE.

THE legal proceedings which have grown out of the attempt of an Australian adventurer to gain possession of the valuable Tichborne estates in England have attracted, considering our distance from the scene of action, an unusual amount of attention in this country. That they should have attracted so much attention is not, as many people are inclined to suppose, owing primarily to the inborn snobbishness of the Briton, nor to the curiosity of his American relative about the causes of that snobbishness. It was really a remarkable trial. It has brought upon the stage and exposed to the glaring light of judicial investigation all kinds and conditions of men, not merely from England, but from every quarter of the earth. It has involved the title to the possession of the property of a family more ancient than the system of legal procedure in which they have found themselves involved; not only their property but their reputation has been at stake; and they have been imperilled by an adventurer who can barely read and write—without money, without anything, in fact, but sheer audacity to further his designs. It has raised questions as to the rights of the press and free discussion, as to the rights of the bar and the dignity of the bench, and as to the judicial system itself under which the case was tried; it has been made to appear in the eyes of many partisans a struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism, and in those of others an episode in the great contest for the possession of the world between aristocracy and democracy. It has made an exhibition, as only a long trial can, we may almost say of modern society, certainly of modern English society as a whole; and it has all been terminated by a charge of one of the dozen men in the world competent by his learning and his consummate ability to preside over such a trial, and give its conclusion the weight and gravity its importance deserved.

During the first trial—the ejectment suit in which the Claimant sought to recover possession of the Tichborne estates—a good deal was said both in England and in this country about the length of the proceedings; but it seems now to be clear that, though the time consumed in trying the two cases was about a year, this was a misfortune which arose from the nature of the evidence, and from the vast amounts of money which both sides were willing to spend, rather than from any defect in the system of procedure. This is interesting, because the procedure of the English courts is now not very different from what it is in many of the older American States, as for instance in New England; and whatever reflects discredit on the one is almost sure to reflect discredit on the other. It would hardly be possible, with several hundred witnesses swearing in the most contradictory fashion about a question of disputed identity, and about transactions covering the period of a lifetime, to have a short trial. Whether in matters of detail the Tichborne case may not have shown defects in the modern system of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence, must be left to lawyers to determine; but in general there seems every reason why cases of such importance should not be rapidly decided. Indeed, if such cases were hustled out of the way as they used to be in more arbitrary times, a feeling of injustice and injury would be frequently left rankling in the minds of the vanquished party, which in its general bad effect, in bringing the administration of justice into odium and contempt, no saving of time could possibly counterbalance. There is a good deal of similarity in these respects between questions of identity and questions of legitimacy—in both, the transactions investigated often cover long periods of time; in both, they necessarily lead to minute investigations into the daily life of persons no longer living; and it may be seen from the Gaines will case in this country (which was a claimant's case also) how tediously long such investigations are apt to be.

Another point of interest in the Tichborne case is the light it throws on the value of circumstantial evidence. It has been the fashion in many quarters of late years, particularly among those who are opposed to the death penalty, to decri circumstantial evidence as being of little or no value. They have argued with a good deal of plausibility from the numerous cases where it has turned out, after a conviction and execution of a supposed murderer, that the crime was in reality committed by some one else, that it was too serious a matter to permit the possibility of such an awful catastrophe. They have not, we believe, gone to the length of proposing the abolition of the use of circumstantial evidence, which would indeed be a difficult thing to do, since the evidence in any case is partly circumstantial, and only partly direct; but they have certainly cast much discredit upon it. The Tichborne case shows of how little value direct evidence may often be in comparison with that which is of the circumstantial kind. The question of identity in the two trials really resolved itself into these questions: 1st, Was the Claimant Sir Roger Tichborne, who disappeared when a young man some twenty years ago, and was supposed by all his friends and relatives except his mother to have been lost at sea? 2d, Was he one Arthur Orton, a butcher of Wapping, who had also disappeared from England many years before? Without going through the evidence in detail, we may say that, so far as direct testimony went, there was nearly as good evidence on one side as on the other. Where a dozen witnesses turned up who swore positively that the Claimant was Arthur Orton, and that they recognized him by certain peculiarities of appearance, walk, manner, which they minutely described, another dozen were always found who were quite as ready to swear that he was undoubtedly Sir Roger Tichborne. We have not, however, merely this extraordinary conflict of evidence. We have in the case of some of the witnesses minute details of the reasons which in their own minds led them to swear to the fact of identity, and this evidence seems to show that direct testimony as to identity in a case so sharply contested has a very low value. The strongest point in favor of the Claimant was that on his appearance he was recognized by Lady Tichborne as her son. When we examine the grounds on which Lady Tichborne made up her mind, we find them to be very peculiar. The scene of the recognition was Paris. In the company of a

Mr. Leet, a friend whom he had picked up, and of Mr. Holmes, his attorney, the Claimant went to Paris to have an interview with his mother. Instead of going to see her, however, he remains in his room, making excuses, until at length she comes to see him. Coyne, her servant, says:

"I went in myself, and saw the Claimant. Lady Tichborne walked in first, and I and Mr. Holmes walked in afterwards. He was lying on the bed with his clothes on. He was lying with his face towards the wall. She stood over him and kissed him, and he stopped so, with his face to the wall. She said, 'He looks like his father, and his ears look like his uncle's.' As soon as she said that she turned round and told me to take his clothes off, as he was nearly stifled. I managed to turn him over and took his coat off. He told me to put some coals on the fire. Mr. Holmes said, 'You witness that; you hear how she has identified him?' and I said, 'So do you.' Did he say anything?—No. Did he remain lying on the bed?—Yes."

The fact of this recognition was the strongest direct evidence in the case, and the Chief-Justice has been careful in his summing up to say that in his opinion no suspicion of dishonesty or of insanity attaches to it. The explanation of this mother's taking the Wapping butcher for her long-lost son is that she had always maintained that he was alive, and, having got this notion into her head, and it being on many accounts a pleasing notion, she was ready to recognize any one who might turn up.

What broke down the case of the Claimant as Sir Roger Tichborne and fastened upon him his identity as Arthur Orton, was nothing but circumstantial evidence of a cumulative kind, just the same sort of evidence which is supposed to be so dangerous in other criminal trials; evidence of a great number of suspicious circumstances in his behavior which were all explicable on the theory that he was not Sir Roger Tichborne but was Arthur Orton, engaged in a fraudulent attempt to gain possession of the estates, but which were not explicable on any other ground.

Evidence as to identity is of a peculiar kind, from the fact that though at the first blush every one is inclined to say that the question of recognition is simple, it generally turns out, in cases where identity is to be established after a lapse of years, that the process is very complex. To recognize the John Smith to-day whom we have been in the habit of meeting week in and week out for ten years as the same John Smith we met yesterday, is one thing. To recognize him after not seeing him for ten years, is quite another. In the first case, the process is instantaneous; in the second, it is much more slow and inferential. We begin by taking for granted that many changes must in that time have taken place; the man's hair may have lost its color; his frame may be heavier, his carriage more or less erect; his manner may have changed totally. In all these respects he may be altered; and where these admissions have been made, and we understand that a dozen persons in our predicament maintain that it is our old friend John Smith, and a dozen others that he is an impostor, in no way connected with the Smiths, we are apt to resort to some very curious processes of reasoning before we pronounce our opinion. Whether the Tichborne case will have any influence on the novelists' practice of having the identity of lost heirs, after an absence of twenty or thirty years, suddenly settled by the discovery of a "strawberry-mark on the left arm," is perhaps doubtful; except for the weight of the "tattoo" evidence, the case might seem to justify the popular derision attaching to this mode of recognition.

The Tichborne case is further remarkable for the extraordinary kind of popularity which the Claimant has succeeded in obtaining. The case is frequently spoken of as romantic, but there is clearly nothing romantic about him. He is a vulgar, illiterate person, who can neither read nor speak his own language very well, and spells it abominably; besides this, he is, according to his own account of his proceedings, an habitual and shameless liar, and with all his low cunning he can be even stupid. At any rate, at many points in his case he managed very stupidly; as, for instance, on his return to England, instead of going at once to see his mother, he went directly to Wapping, where all his acquaintances and relatives lived, and thus in the most reckless manner prepared for himself the exposure which actually overtook him. In the same way, he made

a will in Australia, in which he undertook, never having seen and knowing nothing about them, to dispose of the family estates, and of course this will turned up against him. Again, he seems to have been quite ready to write letters, a most dangerous practice for an illiterate impostor attempting to pass himself off as a gentleman of education. None of these peculiarities would have seemed *à priori* likely to win him much esteem, but, as his exposure and conviction became more certain, his popularity seems to have become greater and greater. Indeed, it was by means of popular sympathy that he found means to defend himself at the last, by addressing large audiences and exhibiting himself as the Tichborne hero. Altogether, it is a remarkable case, and will take its place among the long list of *causes célèbres*, second to none of them in curious interest.

#### ENGLAND.—THE GENERAL ELECTION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

LONDON, February 14, 1874.

THE Gladstone Administration is in *extremis*. On Monday next the Cabinet will meet to determine the nice constitutional question whether to resign at once in obedience to the will of the electors, or to confront the evil Tory spirit it has invoked, and await in the new Parliament of its own creation a hostile amendment on the address, in reply to a speech (or message) from the throne composed by a Ministry that has lost the confidence of the country. The preponderance of public opinion in the present conjuncture is, I think, decidedly in favor of an immediate resignation without any "face-making," as Hamlet calls it. Public business will be a month in arrears when Parliament meets, and there are acts indispensable to the carrying on of the Queen's government which must be passed by or before the last week in April. Some days must elapse before the new ministers can be re-elected by their constituents and take their seats on the Treasury Bench, and meanwhile the session is suspended. Nor is it to the advantage of the state, whether as regards home or foreign policy, that the existence of a condemned ministry should be protracted a single unnecessary day. No statesman is so factious and unpatriotic as to spend his last days in office in laying traps for his successor; but how can a minister put his heart into his work when he has notice to quit? Fortunately, even in the thick of a general election, patriotic rather than party feeling animates both our outgoing and our incoming ministers in this country. Read Mr. Goschen's farewell speech as First Lord of the Admiralty at the Fishmongers' banquet on Thursday last, and observe the manly and generous sentiment that tempers the hostilities of political rivals. At the outset of this last struggle, it is true, the chiefs of the two great parties exchanged some rather reckless and random blows. Mr. Gladstone, who is rather a coarse and clumsy hitter on a platform, and apt to speak down to the quality of a miscellaneous audience, was perhaps the worst offender against good feeling and good taste, and is certainly no match for Mr. Disraeli in sarcastic personalities. At a public dinner some years ago, Mr. Disraeli spoke of his illustrious rival as "my right honorable friend." Whether it was accidental or designed, the friendly invitation was not accepted; but I have heard of an exchange of kindly courtesies since then, and in one of his later speeches to his constituents Mr. Disraeli regretted that public contention should degenerate into personal attack, so I trust the escapades at Blackheath and Aylesbury may be mutually condoned.

In my last letter I described the sudden dissolution as a master-stroke of strategy. Such indeed was the universal opinion on all sides, even among those who disapproved it the most and denounced it as arbitrary, dictatorial, and excessive, if not absolutely unconstitutional. Like other master-strokes of strategy it has failed, where success was impossible, in the face of an overwhelming coalition of forces. Cards we know will beat their makers, and even a Moltke may be overpowered by sheer weight of numbers. I think the suddenness of the dissolution (none even of Mr. Gladstone's colleagues was aware of it before the Cabinet Council on the Friday afternoon), coupled with the announcement of the abolition of the income-tax and the further reduction upon tea-table duties, was the only available chance of snatching a majority at least in the boroughs, and there can be no doubt that the Opposition were dumfounded for a moment. Unfortunately the Liberal candidates were equally unprepared for a general election before June or July, and while the Conservative organization was ripe and ready, there was nothing like discipline in the Liberal camp. Six years before, the name of Gladstone had been a shibboleth for Whigs and Radicals alike; now, neither Whig nor Radical could pronounce that fatal name (except in connection with the coming budget) without throwing discord into the ranks of his own party. Not even all the boons and bribes of the budget could counteract the immense unpopularity of the Government. My letter of the 10th of January



will have explained to you the manifold causes of this unpopularity, deserved or undeserved, and will perhaps have prepared you in some degree for the consequences of this desperate appeal to the country. I say desperate advisedly, since Mr. Gladstone has avowed with the utmost frankness that the reason why he had suddenly resolved to dissolve the Parliament within a fortnight of the session was his consciousness that the strength of his Government was ebbing away, and that it was no longer armed with sufficient moral authority to undertake fundamental legislation. To dissect the operative causes of this *deliquium* of an administration once so powerful and still possessing a majority of sixty in the Commons, and of this profound demoralization of the Liberal party, would be to enumerate not only all its lesser faults and failures, and all those trivial "scandals" (Ewelme, Collier, Post-office, Zanzibar, Dromedary, etc.) which, according to Mr. Lowe, were either downright jobs or mere mistakes, and should be described as such; but all its virtues and good intentions and misfortunes, and all the vested interests—church, land, beer, corporations, charitable endowments—it has attacked or alarmed; all the "blazing" principles it has so ostentatiously professed, and all its "upas-trees" legislation in Ireland; and all its compromises and all its attempts to conciliate the male and female crotchet-mongers. "Hit him hard—he has no friends" appears to have been the common watchword of the constituencies, and of all sorts of constituencies, from the metropolis and the metropolitan counties to Manchester and Glasgow and the remotest little boroughs beyond the Tweed or on the other side of St. George's Channel.

Were you to ask me what party, what class, what interest, Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues have not offended, I should pause a very long time for a reply. They have destroyed the Irish Church and offended all the Protestant laity and clergy in Ireland (and in Great Britain) without satisfying the Roman Catholic hierarchy and laity, who voted against the Irish Education Bill last year, and who in the recent elections have returned Home Rulers. They have passed a Land bill and created a new tenant-right agitation; and out of these two great remedial and heroic bills have sprung full-armed the party which demands Roman Catholic ascendancy and the party which demands the dismemberment of the empire. And, mind you, these Irish bills have terrified and exasperated not only all Tory landlords and Churchmen in Great Britain, but all the old Whigs and all the moderate Liberals who dread being dragged over the precipice of democracy and cannot forgive the pardon of the Fenian ringleaders. The English Education Bill has alienated the Dissenters, who make a tremendous potter about the right of pauper parents who cannot pay for their children's education to choose the schools to which they shall be sent, and accuse Mr. Forster of giving an unfair advantage to the Church of England. Mr. Forster, I am glad to say, was at the head of the poll the other day at Bradford; but, alas! only by the votes of the Conservatives. The abolition of purchase in the army has been bitterly resented in all Conservative and in many other circles of society, perhaps by all the vulgar rich who used to buy commissions for their sons as passports to good company. The Licensing Bill, by its needlessly vexatious and capricious regulations and its menacing principles, has roused to fury all the publicans, a most powerful and influential body of taxpayers; all the brewers, a formidable interest; and all the customers at the public-house bars, not only including the drunkards and the roughs, but numberless respectable artisans and small tradesmen. The clerks and writers in the civil service, the artificers in the dockyards, are enemies to the Government to a man, thanks to Mr. Childers's sweeping reorganizations and to Mr. Lowe's retrenchments, which began from below.

When I mention Mr. Lowe, I name the evil genius of Mr. Gladstone's Government. It was a scandal that he joined it after his virulent philippics against Mr. Gladstone's Reform Bill and against the extension of the suffrage to the working-classes. It was a scandal that, having failed as Finance Minister, except in offending all the taxpayers and every one with whom he came in contact at the Treasury, and collecting five quarters' taxes within a twelvemonth, he should have been promoted to the Home Office on the translation of the well-meaning but bungling Mr. Bruce to the House of Lords. Mr. Lowe, I need not tell you, is a man of rare capacity and energy, a scholar, a lawyer, a debater and administrator of no mean merit; but he is afflicted with a petulant, peevish, and priggish temper; he has no feeling and (in spite of his Australian experiences) no knowledge of the world; and he is a pedant and a pedagogue to his fingers' tips, and "the insolence of office" is never more intolerable than in the person of a schoolmaster. Mr. Ayrton's appointment to the Chief-Commissionership of Works, and his behavior in that office, contributed their share to the discredit of the Government. The Tower Hamlets democracy have avenged Dr. Hooker, of Kew Gardens, by turning out his persecutor; yet—will you believe it?—such is the public belief in Mr. Gladstone's perversity of judgment and of will, that it has actually been rumored within the last forty-eight hours that he had

appointed Mr. Ayrton to succeed the lamented Mr. Herman Merivale in the permanent Under-Secretaryship at the India Office! The revival of the office of Judge-Advocate, which was supposed to be abolished, for the sake of supplying the fortunate Mr. Ayrton with a berth, made a disagreeable impression upon the public mind; and so did the acceptance of so complete a sinecure as the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster by Mr. Bright. For, remember, what is deemed excusable and natural in a Tory is denounced as scandalous in a Liberal. Add to all these causes of offence the inevitable reaction of lassitude after those "Irish sessions," and the inevitable inclination to a change of rulers after five or six years of such a *Sturm und Drang* régime, and pray be persuaded that the British public prefer a ministry less consciously virtuous and austere, not to say of somewhat easier virtue.

Well, then, the outcome of Mr. Gladstone's appeal to the country is a good working majority of fifty for the Conservatives, or, as they are beginning to rechristen themselves, the Tory party. The new House will apparently be even duller and richer than the last. There will be more capitalists, more country gentlemen, more "light-horse," more money-bags and "cannon-balls." Mr. Bernal Osborne will no longer set the House in a roar at his sententious and full-flavored jocularities; Mr. Jacob Bright will no longer plead the cause of female politicians; other veteran and familiar faces will be missed by the survivors who return; but the greatest moral and intellectual loss of all will be Professor Fawcett, who had become a real power in debate, in spite of a physical infirmity so heroically overcome by sheer force of character and energy of soul. Mr. Roebuck, however, will once more appear, holding his stick as Diogenes might hold his lantern, and pointing his interpellations with an outstretched forefinger. With the Tories in power, however, I should think Mr. Roebuck's occupation would be gone. Nevertheless, it will be pleasant to see and to hear the old Cato again.

In forming his Cabinet, Mr. Disraeli has a preliminary difficulty to encounter. Will Lord Salisbury consent to bury the hatchet and to cast into oblivion the days when he seceded from the Treasury Bench to below the gangway, and from that dignified retreat assailed his former chief with passionate sarcasm and invective? Will he forget the articles in the *Quarterly* in which the author of the Household Suffrage Bill was mercilessly denounced? The second Household Suffrage Parliament (and the first under the ballot) has certainly justified Mr. Disraeli's confidence in the *residuum*. Will Lord Salisbury, long since removed to the serenely atmosphere of the Upper Chamber, cancel his rash vows and sacrifice his feelings to his party? I hope he will, for the sake of the Indian administration, which is in sad want at this peculiar famine-crisis of a large-minded and courageous statesman at headquarters. Lord Derby, I believe, has been doing his best to talk over his noble friend, and has himself (at a public dinner the other evening) hinted pretty plainly that the Premiership belongs by right to the leader of the House of Commons. Mr. Disraeli has some thirty-six experienced statesmen and young men of high promise at his disposal, and should have no difficulty in constituting a strong, business-like, and practical administration; and he will now, for the first time in his public life, find himself in the singular position of a Tory Minister with a majority at his back in both Houses, and free to choose a policy of his own or to do without one.

Speculation is rife about the tendencies of the ballot as exhibited in the first experience of secret voting in political elections on this side of the Atlantic and the Channel. The result has, it seems to me, justified in some measure Mr. Stuart Mill's apprehensions from the Liberal point of view. It has reinforced what Mr. Mill once denominated "the stupid party" by all the timid or selfish interests, all the local or professional grudges, all the personal disappointments, and all the fastidious antipathies of classes or sections of society. It has relaxed the bonds of party allegiance, and combined a number of minorities and an aggregate of individual preferences or dislikes into a large and apparently consistent but really heterogeneous and fluctuating majority. No doubt, under cover of the ballot we have obtained a tolerably accurate and exhaustive representation of what may be loosely called the "common sense" of the country at a given time. But it is a sort of common sense that includes a good deal of common ignorance, common prejudice, common fear, and common self, and therefore cannot be depended upon by any party or any government.

#### SECESSION TENDENCIES IN FRANCE.

PARIS, February 13, 1874.

THE actual position of affairs in France is one which it must be very difficult to understand at a distance, as even the most experienced politicians at home can hardly see the undercurrents of public opinion. The passions which have been at work for three years are slowly subsiding, but while

some believe that we shall soon enjoy a perfect calm, many think that our present repose is but a truce, and compare it to the sunshine in the midst of a tornado. The difficulties of the Government which bore the name of the 24th May were terrible. I had occasion to speak not long ago to one of the ministers on the subject of a new municipal law. The Government claims the right to choose the mayors in all the cities which have more than three thousand inhabitants. I was making some objections to the minister, and we long discussed the difficulties which arise in France from the double character of our mayors, as they are not only municipal officers but are also the representatives and the agents of the state. They receive daily the orders of the sub-prefects and of the prefects in all things which concern the recruiting of the army, the registrations of births, marriages, and deaths, the formation of the electoral lists, the police of the streets and the highways, the sanitary measures, the cemeteries, and a hundred other matters. Even in their capacity of municipal officers they cannot safely be trusted with perfect independence, inasmuch as since the Revolution of 1789 an immense number of French communes have become land-owners, and the communal forests would in many cases be soon ruined if a mayor had the sovereign right of a proprietor. The state is constantly obliged to interfere in favor of future generations, or to protect the present inhabitants of a village or town against the rapacity of the municipal officers. After having entered into all the details of this difficult question, the minister finally said to me: "But this is not all; we do not pretend to settle for ever the municipal question. What we have to deal with is an imminent danger; if all France were like the France which lies north of the Loire we would not have proposed this law; but if you could see the reports of all our prefects and sub-prefects, you would see that the whole South of France is in a most anarchical state. Since the war the mayors have everywhere assumed a revolutionary attitude; you would find at Perpignan, at Nîmes, at Bordeaux, and in most of the towns of the valley of the Rhone, the spirit of the *Commune*—that is, the spirit of resistance against the central government. This spirit has almost taken the form of secession in some places; the question in the South is no longer between one municipal law and another municipal law, it is between the old Roman *municipium* and the state; and our first duty is to affirm boldly the rights of the state and to make them respected. We shall hardly change ten mayors in the North of France, and we shall keep the mayors chosen by the communal suffrage wherever the mayors have obeyed the laws; but we shall remove the nominees of the towns of the South in which we have discovered a revolutionary spirit, and in which all our entreaties have been fruitless."

The parliamentary reports which have lately been published in the *Journal Officiel* are documents which will one day be used by the historian of the third invasion of France in the nineteenth century. These reports show conclusively that the Leagues of the South and of the Southwest of France were not fables. While Champagne and Lorraine were in possession of the Germans; while Paris was besieged; while Gambetta was playing Danton at Orléans and at Tours, the old spirit of Gaul was at work in the South, and dreams of municipal and provincial freedom were indulged in many places. There was no actual or conscious plan of secession; only the unruly demagogues of the South seized the opportunity to make themselves masters of all the municipalities. The state of the South was not very dissimilar to that of the little republics of Italy in the Middle Ages. I can only refer those who have any doubts on the subject to the parliamentary reports on the acts of the Marseilles, Lyons, and Montpellier municipalities after the 4th of September.

In the present circumstances of France, the first virtue of a good government is energy; its first and paramount duty is to keep all the pieces together, if I may use the expression; and, in order to do this, it is perhaps providential that France should have a nameless government, which honest men of all parties can support, and, in my opinion, ought to support. The question whether a mayor in a small country town shall be a little more or a little less independent of the sub-prefect, whether he shall be free or not free to sell a bit of forest-land, or to lease it to a friend at a nominal price for a longer or shorter time, is very trifling beside the question whether France, despoiled of her old provinces, threatened by Germany, isolated in the world, surrounded even in her defeat with jealousies, more hated in her humiliation than she was in her greatness—whether this France, which has been formed after centuries of toil, of wars, of material and intellectual efforts, shall remain a nation, or split into a congeries of despised provinces. We also are fighting now for our union. This union is threatened by the communistic theories, by the International, by the revolution, as it once was by the House of Austria, by Spain, by the coalition of the European powers.

I have lately seen a manuscript written in French by Lord Lytton a few years before the end of the Empire. I should have much to object to the judgment passed by this celebrated writer on France and on French society; but I could not help being struck by the prophetic

character of some passages of this curious essay, which will probably soon be published. At the very time when France seemed unassailable, when Napoleon III. was still in the rays of the victories of Sevastopol, of Magenta, of Solferino, Lord Lytton predicted the Commune; and he said that the danger which threatened France was dismemberment. The whole history of Europe, for many centuries, has been a long battle fought for the supremacy in the valley of the Rhine and in the lateral valleys of the Meuse, the Sambre, and the Moselle. The German race and the French race are like two liquids which cannot combine, and which are thrown on the same level surface. The indentations of the two conflicting liquids are constantly changing. It seems now as if a superior force were pressing France back on its old frontiers, and as if the onward movement which began at the time of the Valois, and which became irresistible under the First Revolution and Napoleon, was to be changed into a backward movement. One of the famous three bishoprics—Metz, Toul, and Verdun—has ceased to belong to France; the German professors are teaching their pupils that Montbéliard was for a long time a dependency of the House of Würtemberg; they count the old imperial towns which have become French. In the face of such danger, the duty of a Frenchman is clear enough; every interest must be sacrificed to the national interest. All parties ought to unite in a great national party, not in order to claim unjust conquests, but to defend and to preserve our own. The historical rôle of Marshal MacMahon will be found in this necessity; as General Washington was the armed soldier of the Colonies, as General Grant was the armed soldier of the Union, he is essentially the soldier of France. He must preserve order at home at almost any price, and give France time to reconstitute her exhausted resources. This work of reconstitution would have been easier under the guidance of a man like Henri IV.—one of those chosen men who draw their force from historical traditions as well as from their personal merits. But the Comte de Chambord has not understood his noble mission, and it was fortunate for France that Marshal MacMahon has been found to take his place for a number of years—an honest, upright, silent man, who can call round himself all the Conservatives of the country.

There are many who believe that if he succeeds in his difficult enterprise he will have simply worked for a new empire. I do not think so. Surely, he calls into his councils, he admits to the ranks of the administration, many men who have been servants of the Second Empire. When the Chamber dissolves, the Conservative electors will return many deputies who belong to this large category. But it is necessary to make a distinction between the men who simply have, politically speaking, a Bonapartist origin and the Bonapartists. Most of the men who, having arrived at manhood in 1850, served the Imperial Government, simply served their country, and are willing to do so under any established government. It would be unjust to place them in the same *panier*, as the French say, with the partisans who mean to plunder France under a new empire as they did under the last. MacMahon served under the Empire; M. Buffet, the honorable President of the Chamber, served under the Empire; and how many others could I not name who have nothing in common with the Persignys, the Mornys, and the Saint Arnands! The men of the Second of December are almost all dead; the Imperial pretender is a child; Prince Napoleon is no more noticed in Paris, where he is allowed to live, than if he were a *bourgeois* of the *Marais*. A few Bonapartist newspapers raise a great deal of dust in the political atmosphere, but they are not much read.

The truth is that France needs a strong government; but a strong government need not be corrupt, be in the hands of adventurers, be constantly intriguing or warring in Europe. The foreign powers will soon understand that the septennial Government of MacMahon deserves their sympathies, that it cannot cause any alarm to anybody. The German press calls it an Ultramontane and Clerical government, and hopes to array against it all the anti-Catholic forces of the world. But the time of religious antagonism is passed for France. It is perhaps difficult in an old country like ours to separate completely the church and the state, but their relations have been so arranged for many years past that it would be difficult for the greatest Liberal to find anything to change in them. Marshal MacMahon, as Louis Philippe did during his reign, makes no distinctions between Catholics and Protestants; the bishops have their sphere of action, and the Government has no difficulty in keeping its limits immovable. Some time ago, an indiscreet bishop made a charge in which the Emperor of Germany was treated with too much disrespect; the Minister of Public Worship blamed him officially, and the offence has not been repeated. We don't find it necessary to shut up the bishops in dungeons, or to sell their furniture at auction, to obtain their obedience in civil matters. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Duc Decazes, has sent to the Italian Government a note in which he clearly explains that France accepts the situation in Italy as events have made it and as she has found it; and our relations with the Government of



Victor Emanuel have since become quite friendly. It would perhaps be as well if our Government did not keep a man-of-war at Civita Vecchia in order to give a refuge to the Pope if he chose to leave the Vatican and come to France. But this ship was not sent to Civita Vecchia by MacMahon; it was never recalled by M. Thiers; and it would hardly be becoming now to order it away if the Pope did not himself ask the French Government to do so.

It was a bold stroke of policy to rekindle the flames of religious intolerance in Europe. In taking a party side against the Catholics, Prince Bismarck had probably no other object than to secure the alliance of Russia, as the Catholic question is sure to agitate Poland, and every agitation in Poland is sure to draw Prussia and Russia more closely together. We sincerely hope that the good sense which the English nation has shown when it refused to let itself be drawn into a religious conflict unworthy of our time, will be imitated by all the powers of Europe. Let them only remember the Thirty Years' War; let them find in the great principle of religious liberty the best defence against the encroachments of every church. Little Belgium ought to be a lesson for the greatest nations; the church and the state there, as in France, have not been able to untie themselves completely, but the ties are so loose that they can live in harmony, and the national development is left completely free. The danger of the present day does not seem to be in Ultramontanism; it is rather in that spirit which sees nothing to be respected in any manifestation of the religious feeling, and which, among so many inhabitants of a great capital, chose during the Commune a few obscure and aged priests as the victims of its detestable fury.

## Correspondence.

### LIGHT AND TRUTH AT LAST.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Two weeks ago I explained in your columns the principle and theory of the American Domestic Banking now rapidly growing in popular estimation. I then expressed deep regret that Mr. Wendell Phillips had failed to grasp the great occasion, and had fallen to the rear of the advancing column. I now wish to call your attention to the action of Mr. Phillips's friends, the Labor Reformers, at their meeting in Codman Hall, in this city, on the 22d inst. They appreciate logic if he does not; they at least "the great occasion's forelock seize," and now repudiate their leader as readily as they repudiate the "slavery" of debt. I confess the language of the worthy men and women is not in all respects everything I could desire—but were not the disciples men of low degree in Nazareth? Bitter experience in this world is teaching me to think more and more of matter and less and less of manner.

I quote the 5th and 6th resolutions only, as in them is included the answer of his whole-souled followers to Wendell Phillips—faltering in his years, and paltering with his principles.

(From the Boston Advertiser of Feb. 23, 1874.)

5. *Resolved*, That while a specie-basis currency monopoly is essentially dishonest and oppressive, a Government paper-currency monopoly is infinitely worse; that the efforts of editors, orators, and politicians, by a majority vote and the legal-tender swindle, to force people to use paper money, "payable never, nowhere, and in nothing," denies essential laws of value and exchange, and flatly contradicts the fundamental principles of labor reform.

6. *Resolved*, That the "free banking" bill of Simon Cameron and of his adopted son, President Grant, is destitute of even an idea of liberty or of honesty; while endeavoring to multiply national-bank evidences of our subjection to usury, and brazen-faced enough to pretend to aid labor by extending existing power for speculative plunder, it is ingeniously designed to divert attention from the only possible or desirable solution of the currency question—the unrestricted liberty of individuals or associations to provide their own money at their own cost.

A SENTIMENTALIST.

### THE CENTENNIAL EXHIBITION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of Feb. 19th there appears an article on the Centennial Exhibition which I think must have caused a greater or less degree of dissatisfaction to many of your readers. It cannot fail but to excite alarm when a journal of the standing of the *Nation*, and with its reputation for disinterested motives, seriously counsels the abandonment of an enterprise which the country in its national capacity has guaranteed, and in which it has invited all foreign powers to participate.

In the article referred to it is urged, in objection to an International Industrial Exhibition, that "the success of the United States is not spectacular—that our society is not a brilliant one—that we have no great military force, or beautiful buildings, or class which makes a study of appearances, etc.,"

but these things would seem rather to indicate that it has been wise to decide to celebrate the occasion by a display of those things in which most we *do* excel—namely, our various industries; even if such action could not be defended on other and better grounds. But the time for discussion as to its advisability has long since gone by. Whether it is or is not the best method of celebrating the anniversary of our Independence is not now, I conceive, an open question. From the time when Congress nationalized the Centennial Exhibition and the Government announced it to foreign powers and invited them to participate, it became an enterprise from which the nation could not withdraw without lasting disgrace. If Congress had not intended to guarantee its success in the event of the failure to raise funds by private subscription, its action in lending the national name would have been the most unwarrantable and outrageous piece of legislation the country has witnessed. The Government has no shadow of right to give the authority of its name to any enterprise which it does not mean to see carried through to the end. It has endorsed the Centennial, at the least, in the eyes of the foreign world; and if the pecuniary means of making it a success fail to be raised in the manner first proposed, the Government cannot avoid responsibility any more than can the endorser of a commercial obligation which has not been fulfilled by its maker. It is said to be very probable, however, that the larger part if not the whole of the money needed can be raised by private subscription, as originally designed, if the Government will only distinctly announce its readiness to fulfil the obligation it has incurred, and in the event of any deficit to make it good.

That the Exhibition is *not* merely a "Philadelphia affair," as has been charged by some journals possessing more ingenuity than ingenuousness, it is perhaps unnecessary to assert. It may be as well, however, to remember that of the United States Commission appointed by the President there is not a single member from this city—that the Director-General of the Exhibition is from Ohio, the Secretary from Indiana, the supervising architects from New York.

It is to this extent a "Philadelphia affair" that she has contributed a million and a half of dollars to it and has gotten another million from the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and that her citizens are making the most active exertions to make it a national success. Will not the country at large do its part towards the same end?

If this end is not attained, it will not be that Philadelphia has shirked her share of the nation's burden; and that even the least of her sons are thoroughly in earnest in the matter, this communication from one of them may perhaps evince.—Very truly,

JOS. H. COATES.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 24, 1874.

[The country has *not* guaranteed the Exposition in "its national capacity," or "invited foreign powers to participate."—ED. NATION.]

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Permit me, as one of the United States Centennial Commissioners, not from Pennsylvania, but from the State of New York, who is trying to execute his trust faithfully, and certainly with entire disinterestedness, to say a few words of explanation in regard to your article of last week, entitled "The Prospects of the Centennial." I cannot, of course, expect that you should give me space for, nor have I any inclination for, a lengthened discussion of the general subject. The celebration of the century of Independence may be destined for success or doomed to failure; but surely, in the consideration of its prospects, there is no occasion for injustice to those who are endeavoring, whether mistakenly or not, to make it an event worthy of the people whose progress it is intended to commemorate. Nor can I for a moment think that the *Nation* has intended to do any. Injustice, however, may be done unconsciously. This is the error which I now desire to correct. From the general tenor of your article, one would suppose that the management of the Centennial had thus far been in the hands of most untrustworthy individuals—"politicians," "stump-orators," men engaged in a scheme of some sort of plunder—and that its only chance of success *now* is to place it under the control of a commission of "picked men" (who is to pick them properly does not appear), all of whom are to be "men of knowledge," "men of ability." Now, sir, whatever may have been the mistakes committed in the early formation of the Commission—mistakes which I am as ready to recognize as any one—you will pardon me for saying that the management of its affairs is not, even at present, in the hands of the "ninety politicians" to whom you refer. True, there may be, and doubtless are, men connected with this work who are engaged in political life; but there are many others to whom "politics," as generally understood, are a stranger, and even among those who are "politicians" there are not a few whom I am proud to call my friends. I have yet to learn that politics necessarily disqualify a

man for positions of trust and confidence, though I entirely sympathize with your strictures upon "politicians," and especially "working politicians," as a class. So much for the United States Centennial Commission.

You may not be aware that the finances of the Commission are under the control of the Centennial Board of Finance—a corporation created by the authority of the United States Government—and with this Board rests the responsibility of the expenditures of this great national undertaking. The men that compose the direction of this corporation are, I can confidently say, "sans peur et sans reproche." Its honored president is a gentleman, than whom none can stand higher in the estimation of his own community and of the country at large, and his name is a synonym for strength of purpose, purity of intention, and integrity without stain. What I say of him I say of his associates, so far as my knowledge of them goes. Is it likely, therefore, that even under such imperfect management as you deem it there can arise "jobs" and "steals," and the disgraceful repetitions of past experiences? I think not. Let the mistakes be what they may—and that there will be mistakes I doubt not—but the fact remains that this great commemoration was not undertaken in the paltry spirit of local aggrandizement, or to foster the enterprises of one State at the expense of her sister communities. Far from it. I know the desire of the men most interested to make the celebration at least national, if it cannot be made international; and I think the Nation, uninfluenced by prejudice as it usually is, should, though opposed to Government aid, be the last to discourage attempts laudably conceived and thus far purely conducted.—With great respect, faithfully yours,

CHARLES H. MARSHALL,

United States Alternate Commissioner from New York.

NEW YORK, Feb. 23, 1874.

[We certainly did not intend to insinuate that anything improper had taken place thus far in the management of the Centennial, or to impute to men like Mr. Marshall, several of whom we knew were on the Commission, anything like interested motives. Indeed, as long as the Commission remained a joint-stock association, relying for its success on voluntary purchases of its shares, we forbore making any comment that might interfere with its success, faulty as we thought the organization to be. But now, when it proposes to take our money by way of taxation and make us all share in the enterprise, willy nilly, we think the attention of the public ought to be called to the fact that the Commission is, strictly speaking, a political body, containing a preponderating element of the peculiar kind of talent which manages our custom-houses. We are aware, of course, that there are on the Commission a dozen or so of men of real distinction in various honorable callings, but we are satisfied that if the body gets the spending of \$10,000,000, or half that amount, these gentlemen will either be driven out, or be subjected to so much worry, vexation, and importunity, in the attempt to get co-operation out of the politicians proper, that they will be obliged to practise the political art themselves in sheer self-defence. We might produce a dozen illustrations of what we mean by this. We will confine ourselves to one: Mr. Fish is a gentleman of the highest standing and character, but that did not prevent his rewarding General Van Buren for stump-work last year by appointing him the representative of the United States at the Austrian Exposition—a place for which he, Van Buren, was about as well qualified as for the charge of the Coast Survey or the Naval Observatory. In other words, Mr. Fish was compelled by the necessities of his position to become a politician, at least *ad hoc*. We predict the same fate for Mr. Marshall and his associates. We must remind them that they have thus far had nothing to divide, and nothing which could be turned into "capital." One of the worst effects of the civil-service abuses is, that they are almost killing the art of administration among us, and getting even leading men into the habit of treating all executive functions as primarily intended to satisfy "claims," and only secondarily to produce the results for which they are ostensibly created.

We confess we are somewhat puzzled by Mr. Marshall's allusion to the "Centennial Board of Finance." What could induce him to make it if he wanted to put a good face on the Commission we cannot imagine, for this Board happens to be the oddest feature of the enterprise. When the public hears that it is charged with "the responsibility of the expenditures," it probably supposes it to be a

sort of Board of Audit, composed of a small body of leading business men. Far from this, it is a large body, composed mainly of the ordinary run of politicians, and modelled on a national nominating convention. It contains no less than seven hundred and fifty-three (753) members, made up of four "delegates at large" and two from each Congressional district of all the States and Territories, and is, in fact, a regular political machine on a great scale. The four "delegates at large" are usually men of some distinction, the rest are for the most part utterly obscure, or more widely known for blame than praise. It is of course a delicate matter to point to individuals as specially unfit for their places, and we shall therefore confine ourselves to mentioning two or three members of the "Board" of unusual notoriety. The members from the District of Columbia are Henry D. Cooke and A. R. Shepherd, otherwise "Boss" Shepherd, whose doings are now properly undergoing Congressional investigation. Among those from Minnesota is the famous Ignatius Donnelly, whose character is also a subject of just suspicion to the people of his State. New York is in part represented by Matthew T. Brennan, the late Sheriff of this county, an old "pal" of the Tweed Ring, and by Henry W. Genet, a "Ring thief." Genet is now a fugitive from justice, under sentence for obtaining money under false pretences, and under indictment for forgery; and Brennan has been very recently in jail for letting him escape from custody. We think Mr. Marshall must admit that it is not wonderful that no money should have been got by voluntary subscription, for a Board like this to handle, from a shrewd business community like that of the United States. If Congress votes any money for the international scheme, and the country is fairly committed, we must of course all do what we can to make it a success; but we hope Congress will not do so, and that, if it does, it will reorganize the management, and put it into the hands of a small board of men of special qualifications—say one from each State—with full powers. Something of this kind is absolutely necessary to prevent disgraceful failure. Moreover, the money ought not to come either out of "the reserve" or out of the taxes which might otherwise be used to recall a portion of "the reserve" now outstanding. If it does, this too will be disgraceful. National fêtes ought not to be given with the proceeds of loans, whether voluntary or forced.—ED. NATION.]

## Notes.

NOYES, HOLMES & CO., Boston, will shortly publish 'The Christian Life, and the Way to Attain It,' by Rev. Woodbury M. Fernald.—Frederick Martin's 'Statesman's Year-Book' for 1874 (Macmillan) is now procurable. Examination of the pages devoted to the United States shows a careful revision to date of the standing statistics of population, railroads, public debt, national administration, etc., etc. The principal events of the year all over the world are given in a brief chronicle prefixed to the account of the constitution, resources, and political economy of the several countries.—The second portrait in *Nature's* series of steel-plate engravings of eminent men of science is that of Huxley, and is as truthful and artistic as Faraday's which preceded it. Positiveness speaks from every lineament, but the expression of the face is gentler and less aggressive than in most photographs or him which we have seen.—It is mortifying even to one not a member of the American Geographical Society to have the annual address of its president published in such a slovenly and illiterate manner as it is accustomed to be. Judge Daly's address a year ago was shockingly mangled by the printer, as we pointed out at the time. This year the pamphlet is marred by the same fifth-rate typography, and one reads on the cover: "A number of typographical and other errors have crept into the Address while it was passing through the press, and they are unfortunately so very evident that the idea of rectifying them in 'Errata' has been abandoned." Other evidence of hasty work is furnished by the reference on p. 14 to the appendix, turning to which we find this note: "The appendix, giving the substance of Lieut. Wheeler's explorations, was unavoidably destroyed during the preparation of the address for publication."—The Hon. Geo. P. Marsh's paper, which was so strenuously demanded by Congress of the Commissioner of Agriculture, relates to the subject of irrigation, of which, as might have been expected, he displays a thorough knowledge. His remarks on the disadvantages and



dangers of irrigation will furnish a wholesome check on ill-considered schemes which the Government has been urged to execute. A new edition of Mr. Marsh's 'Man and Nature' is in preparation. — Professor Whitney's 'Language and the Study of Language' is to be published in German at Munich, Dr. Jolly, of the University of Würzburg, being the translator. — Two replies to Dr. Clarke's book on the Coeducation of the sexes are in press: by Putnam—'The Education of American Girls'; by Osgood—'Sex and Education.' The contributors in each case will be women only, save Col. Higginson in the second-named; among them two women physicians, Dr. Mary Putnam-Jacobi and Dr. Merrey B. Jackson. — A summary, by Bayard Taylor, of Dr. Schliemann's work on his Trojan excavations, appears with illustrations in the *Tribune* of March 2. Mr. Taylor's scholarship makes a slip when, in contrast with Ilium Novum, he speaks of Ilium Vetus.

—Prof. Peirce has suddenly resigned the office of Superintendent of the Coast Survey, which he has filled since the death of Bache in 1867. Nothing is known of the cause of this action, and simultaneously with the announcement of the fact itself comes the statement that Captain C. P. Patterson, for many years Chief of the Hydrographic Department of the Survey, has been appointed his successor. We believe that the friends of the Survey, both in Congress and out of it, will regret that the choice did not fall on Mr. Hildgard, who has been well known as the real managing head of the establishment since the fatal illness of Professor Bache seven years ago, and whose intimate knowledge of the details of every branch of the work would have secured almost universal confidence in his administration.

—Almost from the very beginning of its establishment, the Smithsonian Institution has been engaged in the prosecution of a very elaborate system of meteorological research, embracing, at one time and another, more than a thousand stations in the United States, with a large number in the British Provinces and in the territory south of our own boundaries. This has been in successful operation during a period covering a full quarter of a century, and a vast amount of important information has been accumulated, the results of which have been elaborated in important memoirs on the climatology of North America. Of these, one on the rain-fall has already been published, while those on the winds and temperatures are nearly ready for the press. The rapid development of the meteorological system initiated by the Signal Service Office, in connection with the department of weather telegraphy, has induced Prof. Henry to turn over to the War Department the system of observations belonging to the Smithsonian Institution; and, under an agreement to that effect, a circular has lately been issued by Prof. Henry requesting all the former correspondents of the Institution to continue their observations, and to transmit them to the Signal Office, which promises the accustomed return in the way of meteorological publications and other service. All the necessary blanks will be issued as heretofore, and the only changes will probably be in the line of increased efficiency and precision.

—About this time of year the annual reports of the great public libraries begin to circulate in print, and to invite the attention of liberal-minded and liberal citizens. Three or four of those which have reached our table suggest a few remarks. The General Theological Library at No. 12 West Street, Boston, was founded in 1860 "to benefit all religious denominations, and to promote the interests of religion and the increase and diffusion of theological learning." It now owns 11,000 volumes, and is growing at the rate of about 1,000 volumes a year. A peculiarity of this library is that its books can be taken to any distance, and they have actually, during the past year, circulated in fifty-four towns and villages of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont. From many other States persons have come to consult books, and "the whole number of volumes and periodicals taken out or consulted during the year has been fully 40,000." So catholic an institution as this merits generous support; but, in fact, it is almost entirely unendowed, and needs ample funds for its maintenance and a fire-proof building. Contributions of any kind may be addressed to the Secretary, Mr. Luther Farnham, at the Library. The higher class of divinity students will doubtless find their wants better cared for at the Bucknell Library of the Crozer Theological Seminary at Chester, Pa. In such an out-of-the-way place one would hardly look for a remarkable collection of books on any subject, but there is the best of evidence for believing that this library is, of its kind and for its size, hardly surpassed in the United States. In a pamphlet intended to make its excellence known, we have the highest praise accorded it by such eminent authorities as Prof. Charles P. Krauth and Prof. Ezra Abbot. The latter, who will not be suspected of insincerity or flattery, says his opinion of it, after examination, "is so favorable that it is necessary to guard against extravagant language"; and referring to the discrimination shown by the librarian, Dr. Howard Osgood, in selecting the works, he adds, "A library like that of the Crozer Theological Seminary, only much larger, richer, and provided with a liberal fund for its steady growth, seems to me the ideal of

a theological library." We cannot go into details concerning its contents further than to say that, as the library of a denominational institution, it is particularly rich, and indeed unrivalled, in historical documents, "mostly published, but partly in MSS., on the history of the Baptists, taking the word in its widest sense." A copy of this pamphlet, which is a sort of summary catalogue of the choicest parts of the collection, can doubtless be had for the asking.

—The twentieth annual report of the Wisconsin Historical Society, rendered January 2, shows the usual steady and solid increase in all its departments. The library now numbers 27,522 volumes, and about 2,000 more pamphlets—in all, 57,254. The Society, including we suppose both the library and the museum, counts twenty-five thousand annual visitors. Its newspaper files have reached the extraordinary number of 61 volumes for the 17th century; 312 for the 18th; and 1,771 for the present. The Public Library of Lawrence, Mass., contains 11,411 volumes, of which about one-fourth are works of fiction (exclusive of juvenile literature). The statement of its usefulness is made interesting by the fact that 36 per cent. of those who resort to it are mill-hands, male and female, and 54 per cent. are engaged in some kind of manual labor. Its circulation last year was 128,463 (works, not volumes merely), which the librarian thinks in excess of that attained by any library outside of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati. His statistics confirm the well-established law that in any public library three-fourths of the circulation is of works of fiction. Thus, in Lawrence the proportion is 77 per cent. in summer, 74 per cent. in winter, and for the year about 75 per cent. In Boston, we may remark for purposes of comparison, the proportion has been in successive years 76, 78, and 77 per cent.; in Cincinnati, 74 per cent.; in Quincy, Mass., with a population not unlike that of Lawrence, 80 per cent. The following table will perhaps be thought curious. It shows for three New England towns the degree of popularity of a dozen novelists of greater or less renown. In Bangor, it should be said, we are dealing with a "mercantile library."

Bangor.	Quincy.	Lawrence.
1. Mrs. M. J. Holmes,	11. Mrs. M. J. Holmes,	4. Mrs. M. J. Holmes,
2. Mrs. Southworth,	— (works excluded),	1. Mrs. Southworth,
3. Charles Reade,	4. Charles Reade,	52. Charles Reade,
4. Wilkie Collins,	10. Wilkie Collins,	17. Wilkie Collins,
6. Dickens,	5. Dickens,	3. Dickens,
8. Hawthorne,	19. Hawthorne,	43. Hawthorne,
9. Mrs. Whitney,	2. Mrs. Whitney,	13. Mrs. Whitney,
11. A. S. Roe,	8. A. S. Roe,	64. A. S. Roe,
15. Mrs. Muloch-Craig,	19. Mrs. Muloch-Craig,	6. Mrs. Muloch-Craig,
22. Lever,	17. Lever,	10. Lever,
23. Bulwer,	20. Bulwer,	20. Bulwer,
25. Scott.	25. Scott.	8. Scott.

Mrs. Southworth, Dickens, and Bulwer seem to maintain their rank most consistently—say, 1st, 5th, and 20th.

—Five American artists, so called, now established in Florence, Italy, and a certain traffic which they carry on there, are made the subject of a very warm letter recently sent to the *World* by Mr. S. W. Healy. That many such letters from respectable American artists have not long since been published is due, says Mr. Healy, to the fact that "an artist naturally feels a delicacy about taking the initiative against a person nominally exercising the same profession, since an indiscriminating public is too apt to ascribe motives of jealousy." But he for his part is now determined to speak his mind before the general public, indiscriminating or discriminating; and he adds that Messrs. Thomas Ball, J. T. Hart, and other gentlemen residing at Florence, and Messrs. Chauncey Ives, Randolph Rogers, and W. H. Rinehart, of Rome, would be very much pleased if their testimony too should be demanded: he intimates that it would be given with the same freedom with which it is always given in private when it is solicited, although for the reason above-mentioned it is not often volunteered. The late Mr. Powers, however, being raised above the imputation of jealousy by his long career of good fortune and popular belief in his ability, did both privately and publicly volunteer his testimony as to "the corruption of men professing to be American sculptors," and during the last months of his life wrote many strong letters about it. What the thing was that moved his wrath is set forth intelligibly, not to say vehemently, in the following passage, quoted by Mr. Healy from a book ("printed in Italian") on the subject constituting the grievance: "The simple presence of an American who smokes a good Havana cigar, promenading before a model for two or three months, giving three or four strokes of the scalpello and soiling his hands with clay so as to appear as a sculptor before visitors—can this enable his statue to be seriously considered an American work?" It is to be understood that while the American sculptor is promenading, some poor devil of an Italian artist, who has technical skill and knows his business, and very likely has also all the true artistic ability which the statue represents, is performing all the labor from first to last—unless,

indeed, the labor of designing has been evaded by a little simple stealing. For example, some of our readers will recollect the enormous noise that was made over in Brooklyn a few years ago about Mr. T. R. Gould's statue called "The West Wind," purchased by Mr. Demas Barnes. Mr. Powers came out at the time in a letter published in the *Evening Post*, in which he showed that as regards design our prairie "West Wind" was the property of Canova, that sculptor's "Hebe" having been Mr. Gould's victim on this occasion, while "as regards the drapery, the only part of the statue that is not altogether bad, it was modelled by a Signor Mazzoli." A Mr. Pierce Francis Connelly is another gentleman whose works fall under Mr. Healy's mention. Mr. Connelly is reported as a man of twenty-eight years, whose works are already so numerous that artists who do their own modelling declare that from the foundation of the world till now no other human being than Mr. Connelly has ever been possessed of the physical strength and health necessary to the production of so great a show. But "upon one occasion when some one ventured a criticism on an incomplete work in Mr. Connelly's studio, an employee innocently remarked, 'That will be made all right when the modeller returns.'" As Mr. Connelly, besides being only twenty-eight, "goes a great deal into society," it may have been to his absence that the innocent employee referred; but Mr. Healy does not say so; and, to do him justice, does not seem to think so. There are various degrees of this use of Italian skill by American artists. Some degrees are so bad, that for the American artist to assert that he has really had any artistic share in the work is monstrous, while some degrees are not so bad as this, but still involve a certain amount of dishonesty. In all these cases the artist sells as his own or her own that which with his or her own labor, unassisted by abler and better trained artists (bought with a price, and a small one), he or she could not have accomplished. In the worst cases the design is bought from an Italian, or else is stolen from a work already in existence; then the design is evolved in clay by an Italian artist, who may be paid a dollar and a half a day or may be paid four dollars; then the statue resulting from his skill and the stone-cutting education of the journeymen under his direction is sold by American greed to well-meaning American patriotism, and a high price is got for it as being not only a beautiful work of art but of "truly American art"; then our sharp "artist" begins again, lying in wait at the Florentine hotels, at the bankers', at this salon and that, seeking another wealthy compatriot to devour; or for the wandering newspaper man or newspaper woman who is to write for the American journals another egregious column or two about "our gifted countryman or countrywoman So-and-so." Thus the marble-working manufacture goes on, and the honest, conscientious artist—he he gifted or not very gifted—loathes the gifted So-and-so as "a fraud," and curses the stupidity of the patron of art. Mr. Healy appears to promise some more revelations about his five artists, and tells—not so well as we have heard it told—a story about Mr. Rinehart and Miss H. Hosmer.

—The second number of the *International Review* contains two articles from the other side of the water and four written on this side. But then, of the four written on this side two are done by writers born on the other—an arrangement which, we suppose, does not diminish the international character of the *Review*. Professor J. E. Hilgard, of the United States Coast Survey, gives an account of the forthcoming observations of the transit of Venus, of the need of them, and of the manner in which they are to be made. It is a very clear piece of writing on a difficult subject, and will be a godsend to gentlemen of the press in November and December next. Professor Hilgard, in closing his article, gives a word of praise to the liberality shown by our Government in granting means for the prosecution of these observations, and names Mr. Garfield and Mr. F. A. Sawyer, ex-senator from South Carolina, and once we think engaged in school-teaching, as having been mainly instrumental in securing this good result. Among the other nations who bear a share in the work France is mentioned as alone backward, which perhaps is partly attributable to the disturbed state of public affairs, and "perhaps in part to the well-known indisposition of the Director of the French Observatory to do work in co-operation with others." Dr. McCosh, another half-foreign contributor, furnishes an article with the heading "Upper Schools." He briefly reviews the condition of such schools—those next below our colleges—and finds it to be very unsatisfactory in most parts of the Union. It is this branch of our educational system, he contends, which requires to be strengthened, and whose interests must be vigilantly guarded and promoted when public lands and public money are to be given away. The further fostering of denominational schools and agricultural colleges, and the further multiplication of Smith, Brown, Jones, and Robinson "universities," which are neither good schools nor good colleges, nor properly related to the educational system of the country he denounces. Good high schools, which shall give a sound finish to the common-school education, and a sound preparation for collegiate education, are now our principal desideratum. Having

these, he thinks our American colleges, already very good institutions, could not only do what they do now—turn out nine-tenths of their graduates on an equality with English, Scotch, Irish, and German university men, but would also very soon do what they are not now doing—turn out that other one-tenth of their best graduates in such training as to make them the equals of the really well-educated few who are the annual flower of foreign institutions. There is much more in Dr. McCosh's paper, several related topics being discussed briefly, as, for example, Shall Seniors be permitted to stay away from the recitation-room if they so choose? Dr. McCosh says No, decidedly; but we believe no one has yet said Yes, decidedly. Mr. Thomas Hughes, M.P., is another of the *International's* writers. He gives a gratifying account of the success of co-operative stores, clubs, and so forth among English and German workmen. All danger of the Commune for England is now well over, he believes, and certainly his figures look as if he were right. Mr. Amasa Walker goes over the whole ground of our national currency in a long essay bristling with principles and statistics, and once more slays the slain and re-entombs nearly all the old fallacies and follies now under discussion. An extremely interesting article is furnished by Mr. Philip Gilbert Hamerton. He endeavors to lead the uninitiated a few steps into the path of intelligent criticism of the methods of the painters considered as workmen. It is technical criticism about which he seeks to teach the layman something; but admirably clear as he almost always is he is still in places almost inadvertently so technical that he will baffle many. For example, a clear explanation of what a painter means when he speaks of "transparency" would have made all the difference between the irritating of most readers' feelings and the giving them: an intellectual pleasure and a valuable piece of knowledge. We have neither space nor desire to speak fully of the editorial work of this number so far as it has lain outside of the business of selecting the longer articles. Such of it as consists of the book-notices and of the article on 'Nationalism and Internationalism' is very far below the level of the *Review*.

—Petermann's *Mittheilungen* for December 24, 1873, contains a beautifully colored and shaded map of Germany (together with Switzerland and parts of Austria, France, and Italy), showing the density of population according to the census of 1871. The accompanying text is largely made up of interesting extracts from German works on the characteristics of comparatively little known districts. Another map, which we owe to the Ashantee war, is one of the Gold Coast in its full extent, and as far inland as Coomassie, the route of the English advance on that capital being also indicated. With the help of more recent data furnished by the expedition itself, *Ocean Highways* for February is able to present more accurate maps of the route and the country traversed, and of the lower Volta River at the eastern extremity of the Coast; but Dr. Petermann's map has an advantage in combining these widely separated parts. The English review is still further illustrated by a map of the provinces of Bengal which are threatened with famine; and, as a graphic mode of comparing two events of a like nature, the area of Ireland is proportionately outlined upon the Indian territory, and appears to be less than a third as large, while the population of the latter amounts to 42,793,830 souls. "At ordinary average prices," says the Review, "rice is 1½ farthings a pound; a rise to double that price is considered by Dr. Hunter as a famine warning; and three times the ordinary price, or rice at 5 farthings per pound, is a famine rate. So that 2 farthings make the whole difference between scarcity and actual famine." The impending famine, like the terrible one in 1770 and many since, is due to the failure of the autumn rains—a failure which seems to be regularly foretold by anomalous seasons. Meteorological observations, however, have been greatly neglected in India, and the demand is made too late for the statistics which a proper respect for geographical science would have secured long ago. But we are only beginning to value aright the services of the man who consults hourly his thermometer, barometer, and anemometer, and watches his rain-gauge; still less of the solitary explorer of the tropics and the poles. Dr. Petermann, in vindication of Arctic researches, puts two or three facts together in a forcible manner. In 1856, a writer in the *Cologne Gazette* said it has pleased the Creator to make Australia a desert of a continent, for ever beset with death, and lost to the nurturing hand of man and to civilization. In 1860-62, MacDonall Stuart crossed the "desert" from south to north, and in 1872 a telegraph line was built in his tracks.

#### MODERN ENGLISH.\*

HALL'S 'Modern English' is an attempt to show how the English of to-day differs from that of our grandfathers, and to vindicate the change as proper growth. It is a remarkable book, remarkable for what is not in it

\* 'Modern English. By Fitzedward Hall, M.A., Hon. D.C.L. Oxon., formerly Professor of the Sanskrit Language and Literature, and of Indian Jurisprudence, in King's College, London.' New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1873.



as well as what is. It is a book on language by one who has studied Sanskrit for years with the native pundits, who has been fairly dipt in the Ganges and has come out a professor of Sanskrit in King's College, and it has not a scrap of Sanskrit in it. Surely there never was another book on words with as little pedantic display of vagrant learning. On the other hand, it is a hard-pressed pack of facts. There are little more than 350 pages of text and notes, but the indexes show citations from some 500 authors and the discussion of some 1,800 words and phrases, besides those in numerous alphabetical lists. Many of these are illustrated by references to thirty or forty passages; so that the number of memoranda on the history of English words and phrases must run well up among the thousands. When it is added that the facts are selected with clearheadedness and sound judgment, that the references are given with a scholar's precision to edition, page, and date, and that the matter is in great part new and either supplements in important particulars or contradicts our best dictionaries about the history of familiar words, every student of English will see that he needs the book and owes the author no stinted thanks.

The first chapter treats of the instability of language. The point is, that irresistible mutability is one of the invariable characteristics of language. The phrase "living language" imports, says Dr. Hall, perpetual excretion and accretion of substance. We need not distress ourselves because of knowing more words and phrases than our excellent forefathers. Most of the chapter is made up of extracts from authors who have urged attempts to fix the English language by establishing standards. Johnson, Swift, Bentley, Camden, Verstegan, Sir John Cheke, and many more, are cited and branded in an off-hand fashion. There is little or no real discussion of the nature and uses of standards, or of the purposes of these eminent English men. They knew as well as Dr. Hall that languages change; but they also knew that they change with very varying rapidity and in very different directions, and that standards of spelling, of concord and government, and the ordering of words and phrases, as well as the meaning of approved expressions, are to be desired in every cultivated speech, and may give it comparative fixity for all who write or read it, especially in periods of criticism and decay.

The second chapter is on propriety in speech. Accepted usage, Dr. Hall says, is that which is approved "consentiently and advertently" by the best writers and speakers of any given time, and this is propriety to the world at large; but the learned will see its defects and wisely modify it. The third chapter is on "intuitive philology," and consists of citations of mistaken statements about the age and use of words, with their refutation. Addison says that Milton minted the word *miscreated*, yet it occurs in Spenser. Gray says, objecting to the participle *elated*, that there is no such verb as *to elate*, though it is found in Dr. Johnson and plenty of places. I. Disraeli claims to have introduced *father-land*. In *our midst* has been condemned as a recent vulgarity, though it is as old as Wycliffe. *Different to*, *talent and talented*, *lengthy*, *very pleased*, *quite pleased*, and many more condemned expressions are discussed, and abundant references and citations are given to sustain the views of Dr. Hall. Sometimes, however, his compression is extreme. Thus, when he says of *miscreated*, "It occurs in Spenser, with the shorter form *miscreate*," one who does not know him may be pardoned for doubting whether he means that both *miscreated* and *miscreate* are in Spenser, or only *miscreate*; and there are no quotations or references given for Spenser's use, because, we suppose, they are already in the dictionary. But we hope Dr. Hall may have many readers among those who do not care to thumb dictionaries, and have no Richardson. So for the verb *elate*, there are references by the dozen, but not a single quotation or statement from which the distrustful reader could be sure that all the forms of the verb referred to are not combinations of the participle with one and another auxiliary. We confess we turned to a few of the references, and found them satisfactory. Not so, however, is the quotation upon *father-land*. "The Dutch," it reads, "instead of 'our country' say 'our father-land.'" This, surely, does not bar Mr. Disraeli's claim. Nor is the discussion of *in their midst* altogether satisfactory. In *her middis* for *in their midst* is found, it seems, in an old tract; but it is too old to be a good answer to the statement that the modern English *their* has a narrower meaning than the old *heord*, *her*, which is a plain fact whether this particular phrase is good or not. In truth, however, *in-the-midst* is in its origin a compound adverb, growing out of the same Anglo-Saxon word as *amidst*. The Anglo-Saxons said *to-middes heord*, amidst of them, or, with a dative, *to-middes heom*, amidst them (John viii. 3; Gen. i. 6), while they said *on hyrd middele*, in their middle (Mark ix. 36). The word *midst*, having an adverbial ending, has not come into free use as a noun, but is kept alive in the old phrase *in-the-midst*, followed by its old genitive, *of them*.

Chapters follow on "purism," "neoterism," and "neoteristic canons," made up mostly of facts illustrating the unreasonableness of denouncing

words because they are new, and the opposite extreme of excessive and ill-guided love of new words. They are full of interest. And then follow two chapters which are the cream of the book, on "Our Grandfathers' English" and "Modernisms Exemplified," the former a pretty solid body of quotations and references to obsolete expressions in books of our grandfathers' time, and the latter another similar collection of novelties in our current English. Dr. Hall is careful to warn Americans that they will be surprised at finding many of the words set down as grandfathers' English which he has placed there, but he claims our confidence on the ground that his "intercourse with educated Englishmen has, perhaps, been, as of longer duration, so of a more intimate character, than has fallen to the lot of any other American who has made the English language a subject of serious study." The careful reader will also observe that the expressions condemned as antiquated are sometimes found, according to Dr. Hall's own references, in the best authorities of the present generation. He is also cautious about his "modernisms," fully and repeatedly warning us that many of them are doubtless old words revived or brought from infrequent into current use. No one can be more thoroughly aware than he that, with all the richness of his references, he is only making the beginnings of a complete history of any English word.

The modern science of language has changed the point of view from which words are looked at. The old philologists make much of the difference between folk-speech and classic idiom. They notice for the most part only such words as have received the approval of the masters. The modern science values the folk-speech most, and it is in full accordance with it that Dr. Hall searches in low comedy and familiar letters, as well as in the rare tracts of forgotten pedantry, to catch every fugitive form of expression.

The preface has some characteristic biographical matter. It seems that Mr. Hall left college in 1846—Harvard, we suppose, as Professor Longfellow is spoken of as his revered instructor. He says:

"Almost ever since I left college, in 1846, I have held laborious official positions, mostly in India. For many years, while there, spending a considerable part of every day in the saddle, I had little leisure for study. In fact, until four years ago, I have rarely, since I came to man's estate, had any hours for reading and writing, except such as would rightfully have been given to sleep. Scant opportunity, therefore, have I enjoyed of becoming a thorough scholar; and to thorough scholarship I lay no claim. For all that, I have contrived, at odd times, to run through something of divers literatures, and to give some thought to my mother-tongue. On not a tithe of the books I have skimmed have I taken notes serviceable for philological purposes; and yet my memoranda on English words and uses of words have grown to a matter of half a million."

Here is plainly a tireless, swift, vehement worker. Such a man will have a few simple categories, clearly defined, quick to apply. One who has half a million of memoranda to make after bedtime can hardly stop to understand ignorance or to grope for the truth that lurks in mistakes. What he reads is right or wrong, and no mistake, as we Yankees say, and no shilli-shally. He cannot abide a blunder. A boastful blunderer is the lowest ultimate of abominations. When writing of home matters, he is as simple as he can be, and speaks right out in the raciest idioms; but when he has grammar-work to set forth, or a pretender to put down, he selects from all possibilities. All the words in his memoranda, and three and four times as many and as strange, are at his service. He knows where a commodity of good names is to be bought. And he does not deal with philology and philologists alone, but, like Horne Tooke, serves up politicians and parsons. This, for example, begins a note on Thomas Carlyle:

"It is not easy for me to write, without a strong sense of loathing, the name of this arid fantast, and idolizer of brute force," etc. (p. 19). And this follows:

"Siste, lector!—to imitate the invitation on old tomb-stones. And let no one be minded, on the score of my *neoterism*, to hereticate me, as threatening to abet some new-fangled form of religious heterodoxy. Jupiter forbid that I should think of setting up as a theologian," etc. (p. 19).

Some of these passages remind one of Milton's prose invective, which used to be thought in Babylonish dialect, but which certain critics now admire. With Dr. Hall, however, these are only garnish for his word-work. That we hope he will go on with. He has collected half a million of memoranda for pastime. He ought to go to work with all his might, and with fit collaborators, and we might speedily have 'The Philological Society's Dictionary,' or other rival to Grimm and Littré.

#### ROSSETTI'S TRANSLATIONS FROM THE EARLY ITALIAN POETS.\*

THE first song of the Italian poets was heard in the second half of the twelfth century. As the birds in the dawn of a May morning begin with faint chirps, heard now from one covert, now from another, with little

\* Dante and his Circle: with the Italian Poets preceding him (1100-1200-1300). A Collection of Lyrics. Edited and translated in the Original Metres by Dante Gabriel

music or variety of tone and expression, till, as the day brightens, their notes gather force and volume and the wood becomes vocal with sweet melody, so it was with these poets, till, as the thirteenth century went on, all Italy, like Chaucer's chamber,

"gan to ring  
Through singing of their harmony."

It was a morning time for Italy. After long slumber, she had awakened to a consciousness of new life. The arts vied with each other in the endeavor to give expression to the fresh emotions, sentiment, and imagination of the time. The first attempts of her poets were like those of children not yet in full possession of their own powers, not yet masters of the instruments and means of the expression by which they were to become acquainted with themselves.

For a long time the strains of one poet so resemble those of the others that it is difficult to distinguish among them. They play for the most part (to cite Chaucer again),

"On pipes made of green corn,  
As have these little herd-grooms  
That kepen beasts in the brooms."

Individuality of expression is of slow development, and the imagination is a faculty not of youth but of maturity, perfected only by variety of experience and reflection. There is scarcely to be found in the work of all the Italian poets before Dante a single powerful stroke of subjective imagination. The same figures, almost the same formulas of speech, are repeated by one poet after another. Each sonneteer describes the perfections of his mistress, but in figures and phrases that have been used for a hundred ladies before. Dante tells the secret of his own "sweet new style" when he says his pen went following more closely after Love who dictates than did those of his predecessors. Their pens, even when pretending to be at Love's service, frequently followed other lead, and their verses were often written, not so much to show their Love, as their skill in an accomplishment that brought renown. Many of them would have been the better for a muse who could speak as plainly as Sydney's,

"Fool" said my Muse to me, 'look in thy heart and write.'

In a few poems one meets with strains of genuine passion, and the verse is inspired with the reality of personal emotion. But it is rare to find a poem that, coming direct from one heart, has power to go to another—such, for instance, as the beautiful canzone by Giacomino Pugliesi, Knight of Prato, on his dead lady. In this the heart really speaks, free from the chill of cold conventionalities and still colder fancies. Even Guido Guinicelli, whom Dante hails as father

"Of me, and of my betters who have ever  
Practised the sweet and gracious rhymes of love,"

not seldom fails to give to his verse the stamp of truth to individual feeling or experience. His most famous poem, beginning "To gentle heart Love ever doth repair," is also his best, and is the sweet and noble expression of a high nature.

When the poets treat of matters other than love, they are apt to find more freedom and truth of expression, but they still show the youthfulness of their art. The artist is still an apprentice at his craft, but his work has interest from its simplicity and its promise. In a lively series of sonnets, one for each month of the year, addressed by Folgore da San Gimignano to a famous company of spendthrift revellers at Siena, there are pictures of habits and ways of life, drawn with vivacity and humor, which take us into the very heart of the gay living of that old time. So when one Pucciarello, of Florence, writes a sonnet of advice as to how a man should demean himself in the world, he exhibits to us the baseness, dissimulation, and cruelty of an age of the bitterest party divisions and the bloodiest civil conflicts.

It is, indeed, as a reflex of the time when they were written, more than from their intrinsic qualities, that these poems have claim upon us. And yet no one can become familiar with them without recognizing in them the charm of their very youthfulness, inexperience, and simplicity. They are like the voice of the childhood of our time, and they attract us by their innocence. Such beauties as they possess can never exist again in art. They are beauties unattainable after the age of self-conscious experience of feeling has arrived. And in their form, quite apart from their substance, in their versification and metre, they show the sensibility to accord and proportion characteristic of the Italian people and of the language which they have moulded to be the tongue of beauty and of love.

Mr. Rossetti, drawn by sympathies of blood as well as of art to the study of these poets, has given in the volume before us—which has been well known to lovers of Italian poetry since its first appearance thirteen years ago—a selection of the poems of two centuries. His work has been

done, as only a poet could do it, with ease, with freedom, and with grace. Some of his translations are models of what translation should be. But his theory of the duty of a translator, that "the only true motive for putting poetry into a fresh language must be to endow a fresh nation, as far as possible, with one more possession of beauty," has led to his making a volume in which his own genius stands between the reader and the original poet. The work that was beautiful five centuries ago, and which still, when regarded in its historic relations, remains beautiful, will be of interest to every student of the progress of culture, but, that it may appeal directly to his sense of beauty, it may require such modifications as will essentially alter its original character. Mr. Rossetti's nature is far removed from that of the early Italians. He shares in their capacity of passion, but his passion, like every real passion, takes its form and hue from the times. His genius and temperament have little in common with the genius and temperament of a thirteenth-century poet. Subtlety of introspective analysis, imagination nurtured by wide experience, weariness of the shows of life, painful questioning of their meaning, are as native to him as were the simple acceptance of life and satisfaction in it, and the absence of introspection and analysis to the earlier poets. His versions, beautiful as independent poems, not unfrequently fail to represent the artlessness and freshness of the original. He has sometimes turned the wild rose of the Italian field into the rose of the English hot-house, the lily of the Annunciation into a lily of a less absolute whiteness.

Mr. Rossetti's versions are conscientious, and show the work of a scholar as well as of a poet. But he has made the elder poets speak with his voice and in his manner. It was impossible for him to do otherwise, and he would reply to our criticism: "Everything that is in my translations is implicitly in the originals." This is true, but it is one of the marked qualities and characteristics of early poetry to imply more and to suggest more to the modern and experienced reader than it fully expresses. We can read our complex emotions into the simple lines, and we can see where the feeling of the poet was deeper and more varied than the utterance possible to his limited and tentative art allowed him to manifest. Take, for an illustration, the following stanza from the canzone of the Knight of Prato, to which we have already referred. Here is Mr. Rossetti's version, which might have been written yesterday:

"Where is my lady, and the lovely face  
She had, and the sweet motion when she walked?  
Her chaste, mild favor—her so delicate grace—  
Her eyes, her mouth, and the dear way she talked?  
Her courteous bending—her most noble air—  
The soft fall of her hair?  
My lady—she who to my soul so rare  
A gladness brought!  
Now I do never see her anywhere,  
And may not, looking in her eyes, gain there  
The blessing which I sought."

In this exquisite stanza, it is plain that "the dear way she talked" and "the soft fall of her hair" are of the full nineteenth century, with all its pathetic fallacies. Here is as literal a version of the original as we can give while preserving the rhyme:

"Where is My Lady, and her teaching where?  
Her beauty and her wisdom, where are they?  
The sweetness of her smile, her parlance fair?  
Her eyes, her mouth, her semblance fair as day?  
All that adorned her, and her courteousness?  
Her noble gentleness?  
My Lady—for whose sake in joyfulness  
I stood away!  
Her I behold not, neither night nor day;  
No more she gladdens me as was her way  
In loveliness."

This is not as effective a bit of English poetry as Mr. Rossetti's, but it is much nearer what the old poet said and felt.

In the new edition, Mr. Rossetti has given the first place to his translation of the 'Vita Nuova,' and has followed it with a few of Dante's minor poems, and with those which he has selected from the works of his "circle," as he calls the group of rhymesters contemporary with the great poet. We cannot but regret that he has included among the poems of Dante several which want the marks of genuineness. It is nearly certain that the sonnet beginning, *Messer Brunetto questa pulzeletta* is not from Dante's hand, and it is far more likely that the canzone, *Dacche ti piace Amore ch'io ritorni*, is by Cino da Pistoia than by the master who rarely wrote anything without impressing upon it the unmistakable and ineffaceable stamp of his unique genius.

Mr. Rossetti has exhibited, not merely in his translations but in an excellent introduction, full of appreciation and of insight, the relations between Dante and the other poets of his time. As a contribution to the understanding of Dante by English readers, his volume deserves to rank with the remarkable series of works devoted to the same end by his father, his brother, and his sister. All of the books of this gifted family show unusual power of penetrative and sympathetic imagination; and in no one of them, perhaps, is this power more conspicuous than in the volume before us.



*Primitive Culture.* Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art, and Custom. By Edward B. Tylor, LL.D., F.R.S., Author of 'Researches into the Early History of Mankind.' First American from the second English edition. In two volumes 8vo. (New York: Henry Holt & Company. 1874.)—The merit of Mr. Tylor's works is so fully recognized that it would seem hardly necessary to do more than put on record the fact of their republication in this country, and congratulate the American public on having thus within easy reach a book which is not only the standard upon the subject of which it treats, but the publication of which is peculiarly timely. There is hardly any branch of enquiry which has at the present day the fascination for all classes of students possessed by these investigations into prehistoric times, for the two-fold reason that they go to the very foundation of the practical issues which agitate most deeply the present generation, and that at the same time they appeal in about an equal degree to students of the humanities and of the natural sciences. This is the field in which the two great divisions of intellectual effort touch. If ethnology is on the one side a physical science, it on the other draws largely for facts and arguments upon language, mythology, and institutions; if philologists and students of social science are most competent to deal with the institutions and customs of these far-off ages, it is geologists and comparative anatomists that can judge best of the historical value of stone implements, mounds, and other physical relics of those times. It is on the side of philosophy rather than of natural science that Mr. Tylor approaches his subject, and he does it with such mastery of his materials, such appreciation of the bearing of facts upon each other, such clear and well-balanced judgment, and such combined vigor and elegance of statement, that his book must preserve its rank for a long time, even in the rapid advance of the science. Its aim is to establish general and fundamental principles, and this work, when once well done, will not need to be done over again.

Of these general principles, the most radical and important of all is that which touches the prevailing tendency of civilization, whether towards progress or deterioration. The chapter in which Mr. Tylor discusses this question is one of the best pieces of argument in the book, and his conclusion is—as is consistent with the views of most laborers in this field—in favor of the theory of development, but with degeneration as "a secondary action largely and deeply affecting the general development of civilization. It may perhaps give no unfair idea to compare degeneration of culture, both in its kind of operation and in its immense extent, to denudation in the geological history of the earth" (i., p. 48). The most effective single point of this argument is where (p. 43) he compares savagery, in its character, with admitted cases of degeneration—for example, the "dangerous classes" in our great cities. Their state, he says, "is not savagery; it is broken-down civilization. . . . To my mind the popular phrases about 'city savages' and 'street Arabs' seem like comparing a ruined house to a builder's yard." From these he passes to real cases of decay of civilization, and shows by a succession of ingenious analyses how essentially this form of barbarism differs from that which is of a primitive type.

Next to the discussion of the degeneracy and development theories, the most important principle laid down in the book is that which deduces the whole phenomena of mythology from the "belief in the animation of all nature" (i., p. 285)—the essential doctrine of fetishism. No less than ten chapters out of nineteen are devoted, under the title of "Mythology and Animism," to tracing the various shapes and developments which this doctrine has taken, including the whole scheme of polytheism. These chapters will serve as a useful and almost indispensable introduction to any study of classical mythology, which fails to exhibit its full meaning unless approached from the side of fetishism. And here we may call attention to an important feature of Mr. Tylor's comparative study of phenomena. Such comparative study, from that of language to that of mythology and institutions, is the peculiar characteristic of our generation. But there has often lurked a confusion in the use of the term. By Max Müller it is applied to the study of phenomena which may be traced to a common origin; by Mr. Tylor it is applied to the study of phenomena which cannot have had a common origin, but only an analogous origin. Both fields are equally important and interesting, but it is in the highest degree desirable that they should be kept

distinct, as is done by these eminent writers, but not always by other explorers. As an example, M. de Laveleye, in his essays upon "Primitive Property" in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1872), shows that the same system of village communities exists in Java as in countries of Aryan race. This surprising fact may find its explanation in the statement of Mr. Tylor (i., p. 51), that the semi-civilized nations of Java and Sumatra are "found in possession of a civilization which the first glance shows to have been mostly borrowed from Hindu and Moslem sources."

*Six Weeks in the Saddle: A Painter's Journal in Iceland.* By S. E. Waller. (New York: Macmillan & Co.)—This is a slight book. The most has been made of a two months' diary by printing it in very large type, well leaded, and by filling out the regulation size with no less than sixty-six pages of the publishers' advertisements, which actually contain more matter than the hundred and seventy-seven of the narrative itself. For the rest there appears a carelessness in the proof-reading quite unusual in works bearing Macmillan's imprint. When this is said, the worst has been said. Mr. Waller is a good-natured and rather droll companion, to whom one willingly accords a leisure hour. The saga of "Burnt Njal" attracted him to Iceland, that he might view the localities mentioned in it, and sketch whatever seemed good to him. Regarding Icelandic manners and scenery as a twice-told tale, he indulges little in general descriptions, and yet from his personal experience contrives to give the reader a fair idea of the bogs, torrents, lava-beds, and other impediments to travel in that dreary land; he sees Hecla, visits the geysers and Thingvalla, and is fortunate in witnessing some of the peculiar customs of the people, as well as their ordinary mode of living. Nothing disturbs his equanimity. He frequently, in his rude lodgings, "pulled a cod's head and a handful of fragments from under the quilt, some gentleman having dined comfortably about an hour before, and forgotten to remove the debris." The lack of ventilation was a more serious matter. On one occasion his remonstrance induced his host to jump up and draw a cork from one of the knots in a timber supporting the wall. "He held it in his hand for about the space of half a minute, during which time, I should think, about six cubic inches of fresh air had come in; and then, shuddering horribly, he pulled a wry face, said we should catch our deaths of cold, hammered the cork in tight, and jumped back into bed." Nor was his painting always made easy to Mr. Waller. His Prussian blue exploded, and "swamped everything" in his color-box. At a sulphur-spring he sat enveloped in steam, "on a rock heated to such a degree that I was obliged to get up every few minutes to avoid scorching"; and as often as not, when other conditions were favorable, the rain would drive him under his macintoshes before his sketch was well begun.

We give a single extract; it is from Mr. Waller's account of a confirmation which took place in the little church at Kross:

"Although the ceremony had been unusually long, no one seemed to feel in the least degree tired or annoyed, for it was the universal custom for each member of the congregation to walk out of church at least once every half-hour, and, when refreshed with brandy or what not, come back and talk a little with his friends through the window of the building, and eventually to resume his seat within. Snuff, too, was a great resource. The horns were passed rapidly from hand to hand, and emptied in a most extraordinary way; the men seemed to pour it into their nostrils. I never saw anything like it before. All these little things took a good deal of solemnity out of the service, and made me laugh more than once; but when the clergyman stopped in the middle of his blessing to spit with great velocity and accuracy, three consecutive times, into the middle of the nave, I could keep my countenance no longer, but quietly crept out."

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Authors.—Titles.	Publishers.—Prices.
Baird (S. F.), Brewer (T. M.), and Ridgway (R.), History of North American Birds, 2 vols. . . . .	(Little, Brown & Co.)
Blackie (Prof. J. S.), On Self-Culture . . . . .	(Scribner, Armstrong & Co.) \$1 00
Bayard (S. J.), Life of Gen. Geo. D. Bayard . . . . .	(G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1 75
Clemens (S.) and Warner (C. D.), The Gilded Age . . . . .	(Hartford Publishing Co.)
Caruso (Prof. G.), I Sistemi d'Amministrazione Rurale, swd. . . . .	(Pisa)
Derby (Earl), Homer's Iliad in Blank Verse, 2 vols. . . . .	(Porter & Coates) 4 00
Dupuy (Miss E. A.), The Dethroned Heiress . . . . .	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.) 1 75
Jenkin (Mrs. C.) Jupiter's Daughters . . . . .	(Henry Holt & Co.) 1 25
Jevons (Prof. W. S.), The Principles of Science, 2 vols. . . . .	(Macmillan & Co.) 9 00
Martin (F.), Statesman's Year-Book for 1874 . . . . .	" 3 50
Martin (Mrs. C. J.), Only Temper, swd. . . . .	(T. B. Peterson & Bros.) 0 50
Petermann (A.), Map of the United States . . . . .	(B. Westerman & Co.) 4 50

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## THE WEEK IN TRADE AND FINANCE.

NEW YORK, March 3, 1874.

**M**ONEY rules easy, call loans being made as low as 3 to 5 per cent. in this market. The banks of the principal Western and coast cities have the same condition of things to report. As compared with the corresponding date last year, the associated banks in this city at present hold about 34 millions more deposits. The loans and discounts are 4½ millions less. The amount of specie is 11¾ millions more. Legal tenders are 20½ millions more. Circulation is ¾ of a million less. The transactions for the week in gross (clearings), which last year at this date were \$518,260,202, are this year \$333,261,105, being about 185 millions less.

The figures below show the more recent changes in the several items:

	February 21.	February 28.
Loans.....	\$28,230,600	\$2,255,700
Specie.....	28,363,000	26,488,300
Legal-tenders.....	60,150,600	61,915,000
Deposits.....	239,767,300	239,864,300
Circulation.....	26,771,300	26,775,000

The following are the variations in the aggregates of the two weeks:

Loans, increase.....	\$674,900
Specie, decrease.....	1,874,700
Legal-tenders, increase.....	1,764,400
Deposits, increase.....	97,000
Circulation, increase.....	3,800

The mercantile business is said to be dull for the season, and it is asserted by many that both mercantile and manufacturing ventures would be undertaken with more freedom if Congress would take some definite action in regard to fixing the limits of the legal-tender issue. The amount of bank-notes authorized would be of less consequence, as they would not appear in trade for some time; and their issue does not leave in the hands of the Government officers any opportunity for further mischief.

The action of the Secretary of the Treasury in directing sales of Government gold to the extent of three millions during the month of March was a surprise to the great number of dealers in money, and was probably known beforehand by but few. It was by no means, however, a disagreeable surprise; for while there is no great scarcity of coin for the requirements of trade, and merchants could have got along very well without this extra outpouring, this new departure occasions no dissatisfaction and but little criticism, mainly because it is believed to mark the turning-point of the Treasury policy. During the past four months the Secretary of the Treasury has uttered anew \$25,000,000 of the non-interest-bearing notes of the United States which had been called in, but not cancelled, during the Treasuryship of Mr. McCulloch, at the same time having in custody from \$27,000,000 to \$30,000,000 of coin, about one-half of which was in the absolute ownership of the United States, and most of which there was no likelihood of his being called on to disburse. This policy, it is thought, will be abandoned, although there are even now rumors to the contrary. There is, of course, no official declaration of a change of policy; but the only plausible reason to be assigned for sales of gold is found in the needs of the Secretary for current disbursements, which have for some time been met by the notes of doubtful position. There is no technical connection between this change of policy and the remonstrances which have gone up to Congress from

Chambers of Commerce, merchants, bankers, and financiers, protesting against both the legality, the equity, and the wisdom of a further issue of irredeemable notes, but the two may sustain the relation of cause and effect nevertheless. At any rate, we have to chronicle a more comfortable feeling among business men as a consequence; and it now remains for Congress to take the complementary step by fixing the limit of the "legal tenders," and of naming the day when the nation shall redeem its promises made under the stress of war.

Gold has fallen slightly since the announcement of the Treasury sales. The range for the week has been between 112 and 113; opening on Monday at 112½ and declining to 112¼; on Tuesday it closed at 112¼.

The rates charged by foreign bill-drawers for their accommodations would indicate that there is less than the usual amount of specie wanted for shipments; the presumption is that there is a large amount of credit being rolled up in our favor by shipments of cotton, grain, and meats. Exchange on London is rated at 4.84 to 4.87½ to the pound sterling.

Government bonds have reacted somewhat from their highest prices, partly in consequence of the decline in gold, and partly from increased offerings. There is still a fair business doing, however, and at prices which have had no parallel, when reckoned in gold, previous to this year. The following are the latest rates of bid and asked, with dealings between these figures in sufficient quantity to establish the justice of the figures:

U. S. Currency 6's.....	116 @ 116½	U. S. 5-20, 1865, c., new.....	118½ @ 118¾
U. S. 6's, 1861, c.....	119½ @ 120	U. S. 5-20, 1867, c.....	119 @ 119½
U. S. 5-20, 1862, c.....	117 @ 118	U. S. 5-20, 1868, c.....	118½ @ 119
U. S. 5-20, 1864, c.....	118½ @ 119½	U. S. 10-40, c.....	112½ @ 113
U. S. 5-20, 1865, c.....	120½ @ 120¾	U. S. 5's of 1881, c.....	114½ @ 114¾

The following shows the highest and lowest sales of the leading stocks at the Stock Exchange for the week ending Saturday, Feb. 23, 1874:

	Monday.	Tuesday.	Wed'day.	Thursday.	Friday.	Saturday.	Sales.
N. Y. C. & H. R. ....	104½	104½	104½	104½	104½	104½	21,000
Lake Shore.....	81½	82½	81½	81½	81½	80½	62,300
Krie.....	48½	48½	46½	46½	47½	47½	11,900
Union Pacific.....	34½	33½	34½	34½	35½	34½	105,400
Chl. & N. W. ....	59½	53½	57½	58½	58½	58½	29,400
Do. pfd.....	75	74½	75½	75½	75½	74½	3,700
N. J. Central.....	107½	107	107	109½	109	105½	1,100
Rock Island.....	107½	108½	107½	107½	107½	108½	8,200
Mil. & St. Paul.....	46½	46½	46½	46½	45½	44½	32,400
Do. pfd.....	72½	72½	72½	70½	72½	69½	2,700
Wabash.....	51½	51½	50½	51½	50½	49½	30,900
D. L. & W.....	110½	111½	110½	111½	110½	109½	7,600
O. & M.....	31½	31½	32½	32½	32½	31½	19,000
C. & I. C.....	31½	31½	30½	31½	31½	30½	8,500
Har. em.....	132½	132½	132½	132½	133	132	3,900
W. U. Tel.....	75½	75½	75½	75½	75½	75	77,000
Pacific Mail.....	42½	42½	41½	42½	42	41½	13,000

The dealings in railroad bonds have been less than usual, the market being inactive. Prices are barely sustained at the above nominal quotations. Any considerable outpouring of securities would be sure to depress the market one or two per cent. Union Pacific and Lake Shore have taken up the largest share of attention. There has been some speculative interest also in the shares of the Chicago and Northwestern Company.

Most of the railroad bonds dealt in at the Exchange have moved freely and at generally higher rates. Of the great number of railroads in default last autumn, but few are likely to be sold out under the hammer; most of the companies having harmonized on some basis for extension of time on their payments.

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